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VIENNA TRIAL.

The Centreville-Strike Miners Making Experience.

Who are "Peers"?

The Trial of Miners Engaged in the Recent Centreville Strike Has Commenced in Vienna, Ill.—Two Weeks Consumed in Selecting Eight Jurors—The Snap of the Capitalist False Pretence About Trial by one's "Peers" Given Away—First of a Series of Letters on the Instructive Object Lesson that the Trial Presents.

VIENNA, Ill., Dec. 16th, 1899.

Mr. John Barney.

Dear Fellow Toiler:—In compliance with your request to keep you posted on the proceedings of your craftsmen, the miners, who are being tried for their lives on a charge of murder, alleged to have been committed in a riot-strike last June in Carterville, I have settled down here with no other object than furnishing you with complete knowledge. The time in doling out justice in a capitalist court, you know, is very uncertain. Hence the number of letters I will write you on this subject will also be uncertain.

I shall not only give you the unvarnished facts, but I shall endeavor to drive these facts home to you in a plain manner.

Numerous times have you told me you were a Socialist and that you were going to vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket; and yet, just as often have you objected to the principles of Socialism that I have uttered. Hence I anticipate you may object to the term "capitalist court." I am convinced that you have thrown overboard the nursery tale that in the factory, shop and mine, the capitalist class and the working class are a sort of Siamese Twins. But I am inclined to think you still labor under the delusion that these two antagonistic classes own and run the Government under some kind of a partnership arrangement. The government consists of the courts, legislative or law-making, executive and the army and militia. To the capitalist class the most important and effective of these are the army and militia. Now, John, to expel your delusion from your mind, permit me to ask you these questions: Did you ever know the working class to call out the army or militia for THEIR protection? Is it not, rather, an every-day occurrence for the capitalists to call out army and militia to protect them in fleecing the toilers? It seems this should settle it beyond a doubt that the capitalists own the government, including all the courts. This is important to start with, in order that you may know what kind of courts are about trying your craftsmen for their lives.

Just here, I fear, you will jump to a dangerous conclusion. As these courts, in possession of the capitalists, act as a trap to catch and hold the working class, I fear you will think the Socialists want to smash the courts. No, indeed; we would, through the ballot, take possession of the Government, the courts included, and reform them in such a manner as to fit the Socialist or Workers' Republic. Until that is done, the Socialists aim at placing the courts, as at present constituted, in the hands of the workingman, so that the workingman shall be tried in his own courts. In all my letters, whenever I use the term "court," you will understand me to mean the capitalist court, and not the workingman's court. I am well aware this idea will be hooted. Those who do not belong to your class will tell you "the courts give equal justice to all," and that "every man is entitled to a jury of his peers." A peer means one who is your equal, equal opportunities.

The long drag of two weeks in selecting a jury in the miners' case is, alone, enough to give the whole snap away, as to the capitalist's blarney of "equal justice" and "a jury of your peers." Though a jury has not yet been selected, and the trial not commenced, still some fine object lessons have cropped out. Eight jurors have been sworn in, and most of them property-owners—small capitalists. Every one of the three hundred persons who were examined for jurors, were asked if they owned property, a factory, a store or a farm, or if they were wage workers. In other words, the lawyers for the capitalist State wanted only jurors who owned these instruments of production, and the lawyers for the defendants wanted no other jurors but the wage workers who owned none of these instruments and had no prospect of owning them.

This means that you can never expect justice from the property-owners, and whenever the capitalist Government wants to hang you it depends upon the capitalist class alone, and not upon your class at all whether you shall be hanged or not. It is an enforced admission that the working class, as a whole, can only get justice, can only be emancipated through the efforts of their class alone.

John, for twenty years the Socialists have continually been trying to hammer this idea into your head. Surely, the fact must now penetrate your brain that society, as at present constituted, is divided on the basis of property into two antagonistic classes, the propertiless class and the property class. Surely, you will no longer believe that these classes have anything in common, or that they can unite at the ballot box on a solitary thing.

We now see what is meant by "your peers." Even the lawyers for both prosecution and defence admit that your peers are only those who own no property. They also admit that there can be no such thing as "equal justice" if the jury and the rest of the court were composed of two classes of opposing economic interests; that the capitalist class do not expect justice from a conglomerated mass of skinned and skinners. Neither can the working class get justice from such a mass. Thus has the court also made it very plain to us what is meant by "equal justice."

If you still have doubts as to whether this Government belongs to the capitalists or to the working class or to both, or whether there is anything in common between the classes, this trial, as it proceeds, will no doubt furnish abundance of sledge-hammer blows in driving the truth into your thinking box. If you will not learn from the Socialists, you will be forced to learn from the class that skins you.

Shall write you again next week.

Yours for Labor,
JOHN PROLETARIAN.

But here comes the class-conscious man of labor and takes a good look into this social world; investigates its wheel work and at last comprehends the nature of the fight that is going on there, right upon his shoulders; discovers also the secret of his own servitude and traces to its anchor the chain that holds him. No side issue for him; no shifting of burden; no participation in capitalists' quarrels; no tinkering at their infernal machine; no hasty overturning of it either. He now knows what he has to do, and in this social world which he must still carry he plainly sees the tools which he must first grasp to make himself free.—From "Taxation," by Lucien Sanial. (See adv. 2d page.)

Agitation is work; agitation combined with pleasure is a combination devoutly to be wished. Such a combination can be had by all those who attend the masquerade ball to be given by the Workingmen's Publishing Association, at Grand Central Palace, on Saturday evening, December 30. The proceeds of the ball are to go to the benefit of the Jewish Daily "Abend-blatt," and the mechanical plant of the "Abendblatt" is to be turned over to the Party as soon as the DAILY PEOPLE is started. So you can boom the DAILY PEOPLE by participating in the festivities at Grand Central Palace. That will be agitation combined with pleasure.

The New York Central Fakirated Union is to be the next field where Mr. Seth Low, President of Columbia College, is to gather new laurels.

His first field was the Stock Exchange, where he gathered laurels as a cornerer of coffee.

His next field was the mayoralty of Brooklyn, where he gathered laurels by robbing the celebrated engineer Roebling, the builder of the Brooklyn bridge, of his glory, and taking all credit upon himself.

His next field was as puritanic candidate for Mayor of Greater New York, decrying political log-rolling, and where he gathered immortal laurels, out-log-rolling Tammany by fusing his ticket with any and everything that came along.

His next field was the Hague Peace Conference, where he gathered laurels by making himself ridiculous, by repeating, like a parrot, principles of international law that his coffe-cornering bourgeois mind had no understanding of.

Now his field is the Central Fakirated Union, where he will gather laurels by discoursing sweet economic music to the assembled Labor Fakirs.—No doubt, these laurels will be of the greenest.

Thomas F. Connolly, of the Pickers' and Carders' Union, in Massachusetts, deserves a good job from the political parties in Massachusetts. Speaking in the First Congregational Church of Lowell, two Sundays ago, on "What Working People Desire to Secure," he said:

> We want eight hours for work, and we want eight hours to sleep, and we want $2 a day for our labor, and THAT IS THE GOAL WE ARE SEEKING.

The Democratic and the Republican party of the Old Bay State, together with the capitalists back of them, should now suspend hostilities just long enough to agree upon some reward for this jewel. A finer specimen of a labor fakir they surely can't find anywhere. He who says the height of his ambition is $2 a day for the workers is surely a practical man, a sensible man, a good man,—just the sort of a man to throw in the way of the impractical, bad Socialists.

As one of the signs of the prosperity that has at last overtaken the workingmen, is the reduction of wages at the Jennings Lace Works, Brooklyn, on December 22. By the reduced scale, the lace weavers, who, being highly skilled, got exceptionally high wages, now get from $5 to $12 less than before.

This is not the only item of news that has escaped the "prosperity howlers."

The "Yiddish Volkszeitung," a publication that was started last summer in opposition to the Party and to the Party's Jewish organ, the "Abendblatt," died last Sunday. With its head or its feet (we don't exactly know what the orthodox style is) stretched towards Jerusalem, the paper that claimed to have the Jewish masses with it now lies buried; while the "Abendblatt," the "property of a clique," whom "the masses repudiated," continues to live altogether too healthy to suit the "masses."

The "Yiddish Volkszeitung" is the first of a series.

TORONTO, CANADA.

S.L.P. Platform and Municipal Candidates for the Year 1900.

Scathing Arraignment of Capitalism and its Upholders, the Capitalist Class—Items of the Socialist Labor Party—The Intelligent Workingman Will Vote Clas-Consciously, Regardless of Church or Lodge Affiliations.

The Socialist Labor Party of Toronto, in entering upon its second municipal campaign, desires to call the attention of the electors of this city to the following:

We affirm that Labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates. But while the means of production and distribution are owned by capitalists, labor will be fleeced. We therefore demand that all the means of production and distribution be made the common property of the people—that every man have the right to work, and that the men who work receive the full result of their work.

Capitalism, or the present competitive system of production for profit, tends to degrade mankind, to destroy the health and happiness of the workers, to corrupt legislators, and causes constant strife between employer and employé. Capitalism is responsible for a frightful list of preventible accidents and deaths. It is a cause of crime. It is the cause of enforced idleness. It bestowes "prosperity" on the few, poverty on the many.

Capitalism gives to our legislators and aldermen a bribe with one hand, while with the other it has taken possession of mines, railways and other valuable concessions which should have been owned and operated by the people.

A system of production for use, or public ownership of the means of production and distribution, would remove poverty, lack of employment and the incentive to crime. Establish a system of co-operation in which all industry would be carried on in a manner most conducive to the general welfare, and humanity would enter upon an era of moral, physical and intellectual progress unequalled in the history of the race. This is the high aim of the Socialist Labor Party.

Intelligent use of the ballot is the only hope of the workers. Do not vote thoughtlessly. Do not vote for a man because he belongs to the same church or belongs to the same lodge as yourself. Vote for men who will labor for legislation to benefit the working class. Do not vote for the aldermen who were elected for 1899. Did they enact one law in the interest of the working class? They did not endeavor to remove the property qualification. Every man who has brains but lacks property, should bear that in mind. They repealed the Union Label By-Law. Every trade unionist should hit back by voting for S. L. P. candidates. They increased the salaries of officials, but threatened to reduce the wages of those who receive only 15 cents an hour. Let every worker remember. Vote against the present aldermen. They treat the working class like Outlanders. They esteem property more than brains; privilege more than justice. Not one of them is in favor of giving to the worker the full product of his toil.

The wage-workers of Great Britain have elected over 350 Socialists to councils and school boards, and as a result an eight-hour day has been secured and wages have been increased. Dwellings for workingmen are being erected on the Socialist plan; namely, permanent rental at cost of construction and maintenance. No raising of rents such as the working class of Toronto experienced lately. The Socialists are forwarding the Old Age Pension movement to provide honorably for those beyond middle age who find it impossible to find employment.

The workers of Toronto need all the above benefits and will get them as soon as enough Socialists are elected to our City Council. Let every worker be loyal to his class and vote only for the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party.

Demands for Immediate Relief of the Working Class.

1. That the hours of labor per day be eight hours for all civic employés, and that they be given the Saturday half-holiday on all city work, and that $2 per day be the minimum rate of wages paid.
2. That the city establish a home for the aged and infirm, and that the principle of city dispensaries be extended and that a dental department be added, and that the city employ doctors to attend people at their homes if necessary (at cost).
3. That the water be given free to the people, and that the expense of same be paid for from the general tax.
4. That the city establish a coal and wood yard, and that the coal and wood be supplied at cost.
5. School education for all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, free and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
7. That the city of Toronto obtain possesion of all the local railroads, ferries, gas works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchise; the employés to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration, and to elect their own superintendents and foremen, and that no employé shall be discharged for political reasons.

(Continued on Page 3.)

SULU-ED.

The Text and Meaning of the Treaty With the Jopo Sultan.

Chattel Slavery Recognized—Polygamy as a "Religious" Institution and "Official" Dignity, Protected—Salaries Guaranteed to Officials Neither Elected by the People nor Appointed by American Executives.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Dec. 20.—The reference, made some time ago in THE PEOPLE, to the disgraceful conduct of our capitalistic Government in the Philippine Islands, apropos of a treaty entered into by our military authorities there with a native polygamous and slave-holding chieftain, may now be proved with documentary evidence. Here is the treaty itself in full.

"Agreement between Brigadier-General John C. Bates, representing the United States, of the one part, and His Highness the Sultan of Jolo, the Dato Rajah Muda, the Dato Attik, the Dato Calbi and the Dato Jaoakanain, of the other part, it being understood that this agreement will be in full force only when approved by the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands and confirmed by the President of the United States, and will be subject to future modification by mutual consent of the parties in interest.

"Article 1.—The sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged.

"Article 2.—The United States flag shall be used in the archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies on land and sea.

"Article 3.—The rights and dignities of His Highness the Sultan and his datos shall be fully respected; the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion.

"Article 4.—While the United States may occupy and control such points in the archipelago of Jolo as public interests seem to demand, encroachment will not be made upon the lands immediately about the residence of His Highness the Sultan unless military necessities require such occupation in case of war with a foreign power, and where the property of individuals is taken, due compensation will be made in each case. Any person can purchase land in the archipelago of Jolo and hold the same by obtaining the consent of the Sultan and coming to a satisfactory agreement with the owner of the land, and such purchase shall immediately be registered in the proper office of the United States Government.

"Article 5.—All trade in domestic products of the archipelago of Jolo, when carried on by the Sultan and his people with any part of the Philippine Islands, and when conducted under the American flag, shall be free, unlimited and undutiable.

"Article 6.—The Sultan of Jolo shall be allowed to communicate direct with the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands in making complaint against the commanding officer of Jolo or against any naval commander.

"Article 7.—The introduction of firearms and war material is forbidden except under special authority of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands.

"Article 8.—Piracy must be suppressed, and the Sultan and his datos agree to heartily co-operate with the United States authorities to that end and to make every possible effort to arrest and bring to justice all persons engaged in piracy.

"Article 9.—Where crimes and offenses are committed by Moros against Moros the Government of the Sultan will bring to trial and punishment the criminals and offenders, who will be delivered to the Government of the Sultan by the United States authorities if in their possession. In all other cases persons charged with crimes or offenses will be delivered for trial and punishment.

"Article 10.—Any slave in the archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value.

"Article 11.—In case of any trouble with subjects of the Sultan, the American authorities in the island will be instructed to make careful investigation before resorting to harsh measures, as in most cases serious trouble can thus be avoided.

"Article 12.—At present Americans or foreigners wishing to go into the country shall state their wishes to the Moro authorities and ask for an escort, but it is hoped this will become unnecessary as we know each other better.

"Article 13.—The United States will give full protection to the Sultan and his subjects in case any foreign nation should attempt to impose upon them.

"Article 14.—The United States will not sell the island of Jolo or any other island of the Jolo archipelago to any foreign nation without the consent of the Sultan of Jolo.

"Article 15.—The United States Government will pay the following monthly salaries:

	Mexican Dollars.
"To the Sultan	250
"To Dato Rajah Muda	75
"To Dato Attik	60
"To Dato Calbi	75
"To Dato Jaoakanain	75
"To Dato Puyo	60
"To Dato Amir Husain	60
"To Hadji Butu	50
"To Habib Mura	40
"To Serif Sagulo	15

"Signed in triplicate, in English and Sulu, at Jolo, this 20th day of August, A. D. 1899 (13 Arabuil Ahil 1317).

"J. C. Bates, Brigadier-General United States Volunteers; Sultan of Jolo, Dato Rajah Muda, Dato Attik, Dato Calbi and Dato Jaoakanain."

There you have our national disgrace patentized.

We are told that the United States could not, without obloquy, shirk the work of civilizing these islands "that Providence had thrust into our hands." How is the Republican capitalist government of the land doing that?

The archipelago of Jolo is part of the Philippine archipelago. Jolo "was thrust into our hands by Providence" as much as Luzon. In Luzon we treat the natives as "subjects"; how come we to treat the Jolos otherwise, to the extent of entering into treaties with them? In Luzon we are shooting civilization down the throats of the natives. Is it likely that the Sultan of Jolo or his Datos will preserve for our country, for its honesty of purpose, any respect, seeing that American officials expressly recognize chattel-slavery and protect polygamy? What else flows from this damnable treaty but the conclusion that the "civilization" we bring is the most dastardly imaginable, is the condensation of hypocrisy? And what conclusion are the Filipinos in arms to draw from it but that they are dealing with a whitened sepulchre, with a people that is merely on the go for what it can grab, and that will cloak with the prestige of its name the very wrongs that in other places it boasts of having uprooted? Or what effect can the treaty have upon these Filipinos but that of steeling them to ever more energetic efforts to free themselves from the domination of such a people?

Fortunately capitalist Governments are things essentially separate and apart from the people. But the Filipinos may not yet have found that; certain it is that the working class of the land must share the responsibility for what the McKinleys and Clevelands have done, or their likes, Silver Mine Baron Bryan, would have done.

It is not for bread only that the working class of America has to strike at the ballot box; it must also strike for its honor.

Our people are Sulued.

After the marrow and lives of the New York Central employees went, by the marriage of Vanderbillions with a Duke of Marlborough, to rebuild the roof of Blenheim Palace, a subsequent marriage between the same kindred worthies, is now turning the marrow and lives of the present New York Central employees into military equipments for the present Duke of Marlborough to take to South Africa to kill Boers with—provided the Boers don't cashier him, as they have been doing with the other Dukes.

The Irish Socialist Republican Party condenses its purposes thus tersely:

"Establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic, based upon the public ownership by the Irish people, of the land and instruments of production, distribution and exchange. Agriculture to be administered as a public function, under boards of management elected by the agricultural population, and responsible to them and the nation at large. All other forms of labor necessary to the well-being of the community, to be conducted on the same principles.

How unreliable sentiment is, what odd contradictions that man is liable to fall into whose only guidance is sentimentality, unstudied by fact and unruddered by reason, Emile Zola is just publishing distressing proof of.

Quite recently he stood forth as the noble paladin of Justice against the damnable Dreyfus conspiracy; and, due to him, wrong has been substantially redressed.

Now he comes forward as the advocate of the sanctimonious, famine-spreading and crime-enforcing English ruling class against the Boers.

The two attitudes are mutually repellant. They can be reconciled only on the ground that the gyrations of the weathercock are reconciled with one another. Sentiment has no root in reason.

The Post Office Department is producing one more beauty spot on the beautiful body of "naturalization" under capitalist rule. It appears now that, under the capitalist administration of our Post Office, the railroads receive an average of $35,049 annually for each of the 921 cars allotted to the mails, whereas the receipts of the railroads for passenger cars amount to only $10,528.

What capitalist would not favor "nationalization" on this style?

The tools that the working man will first grasp to free himself are the Public Powers. Most of them, on the day of final victory, on the day of complete emancipation, he will so transform as to make them unrecognizable. In the meantime, wherever he may gain a foothold and establish his authority, he will of course turn them, such as he finds them, to the advantage of his class and against its exploiters. From the load on his back, where they are a dead weight, they will pass into his right hand, serving him as a staff on his hard journey, and as a club in fighting his way through.—From "Taxation," by Lucien Sanial. (See adv. 2d page.)

THE BALLOT!

Section New Bedford, S.L.P., Mounts the Breach.

If Not Ballots, Bullets.

Men too Drunk to Stand or Hold their Ballots, are Walked up to the Polls by the Heelers and Voted—They are Shoved in Ahead of Sober Voters, Delaying the Process of Casting a Ballot—Both the Old Parties' Workers Guilty—The Socialist Labor Party Alone Takes a Stand Against the Wrong, Determined to Check it.

NEW BEDFORD, Mass., Dec. 23.—Section New Bedford has found it necessary to inaugurate a series of indignation meetings at the brazen election corruption that this town is subjected to, especially at municipal elections. At the last election the corruption surpassed everything of the sort ever known here. These are some of the remarks made by our speakers at these meetings. From the remarks the facts in the case may be amply gathered.

Comrade Dennis McGoff said: "This is the first party to call an indignation meeting because of the methods pursued at our annual municipal elections, or, as I might say, our annual municipal sales. People may say that we deal only in ancient history, but it is not our intention to let this thing become ancient history, but to keep it before the eyes of the people to that extent that they will rebel at the system."

Comrade Simon Lynch gave this account of his experience when he went to vote on election day: "The stairs were crowded with drunken men who had been given their liquor by a prominent heeler. When I went into the precinct room I was compelled to take my place in the line and wait my turn, while a drunken man, who came in later, was given a place ahead of me. This man secured a ballot and finally managed to reach a polling booth, but when he attempted to mark his ballot it dropped to the floor and the man fell all over it. I protested to the warden that the man was in no condition to cast an intelligent vote, and the warden didn't know what to do, but he did say that over half the ballots cast in that precinct had been drunken ballots. The liquor with which the voters had been supplied was landed in a near-by shop by a rumseller and was given to the voters who dispensed it, like flies around a molasses barrel. The Socialist Labor Party had been denied their constitutional rights of assembling and of free speech, and yet men were allowed to hang around the polling places in a drunken state without molestation. This thing must stop."

Comrade James T. Hancock expressed these views: "It is plain to any man that every election sees the fishing ground among the working class, and it is the boast of the man, in particular, who has left the mill to engage in the liquor business, that he carries the votes of so many workingmen around in his vest pocket. How does he achieve this result? There are only two ways by which a vote is commanded, by gaining the respect of the voter or by purchase. Does this man secure the votes of the workingmen by the respect they bear him? No. They are looking for what he carries around in his vest pocket. This man is not the only one against whom honesty can rail. But does integrity and honesty do this? No. Why? Because they fear the element of corruption is too strong. But the Socialist Labor Party denounces these men, and every honest citizen, if he has any sense of justice, ought to say, Let us stop this, and I'll do all I can to stop it.

"In New Bedford there is a class of people who seek out those who are buying at the highest price. Take that element out of politics and what is left? The spirit of revenge, that spirit which will turn instantly around and vote just the opposite if the side which has been buying their votes refuses to do so. Next year there may be but one opponent against the S. L. P., but the use of stuff in the election will go on just the same, because there will be a fear that those who have been bought, if they can't get anything, will turn around and vote for the S. L. P. candidate out of revenge."

Hancock suggested, as one of the most powerful demonstrations of the way elections are carried on in this city that somebody should go around to the election booths with a camera and take snap-shots of the voters to illustrate the methods which are pursued to coax them. If there is no other way to enforce the law, he said, workingmen must band themselves together into a detective force to see that the laws are carried out. They must form a vigilance committee and trap the corruptionists.

"It should be made clear," said Hancock, "that the Socialist Labor Party means to down the corruptionists or be downed itself in the attempt. We have nothing but scorn and contempt for these men. They are the enemy of our class, and we propose to wage a bitter war upon them."

Thomas Hickey will deliver a lecture on Socialism, at a mass meeting arranged by the 21st Assembly District, S. L. P., Saturday, January 6th, 8 p. m., at Schiellein Hall, corner of Vermont and Atlantic avenues, Brooklyn.

THE PEOPLE.

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—— EVERY SUNDAY. ——

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1898	**82,204**

He who sees the future sure,
The baffling present may endure,
And bless, meanwhile, the unseen Hand that leads
The Heart's desires beyond the halting step of deeds.
WHITTIER.

ORDER WITH PROGRESS, PROGRESS WITH ORDER.

Finally, tho' not least, there should be mentioned, among the positions that the Socialist Labor Party conquered last election day for the Revolution in this country, that which maintains ORDER WITH PROGRESS, while promoting PROGRESS WITH ORDER.

For reasons that would here be a digression to go into, the people of America have been a favorite subject for superficial writers of superficial ethnography. As a result of that, the most contradictory qualities—good, bad and indifferent—have been ascribed to this people, each writer writing as the maggot happed to bite him. Accordingly the American people have been alternately described as the "freest" and the most "slavish"; the "most highly intelligent" and the "stupidest"; the most "versatile" and the most "Anglo-Saxon" or "bovine"; as the "bravest" and the most "timidly calculating"; and so forth and so on. These qualities are so contradictory that the one would exclude the other. And yet the writers who have so expressed themselves have not romanced wholly. Their error lies in having mistaken incidental manifestations for essential qualities; in other words, they have failed to trace, whatever popular manifestation struck them at the time, to the root-quality from which all drew their origin, and which, once understood, not only qualifies all the periodical strikingly-visible manifestations, but fraternizes them, proves them to be supplementary.

As the most luxurious vegetation goes accompanied with the most poisonous reptiles; as the healthiest of climates are found to promote deadly diseases, peculiar to their own;—in short, as opposing qualities are obverse and reverse of the same, certain medal, so likewise are popular qualities, which, taken alone, seem not only contradictory, but excessive, yet utterances of one certain and central feature. What is this one, this certain, this central feature of the "American medal," that all these opposing qualities are the obverse and the reverse of? MASS-ORGANIZATION.

Whatever other and important ingredients organization needs, in order to be lasting and successful, organization is based upon the pre-requisite of numbers. According to the numbers of the organized, so are their aggregate manifestations. "Representative government," for instance, is an inevitable—certain and first fruit and requirement of numbers that are too large to meet in "Committee of the Whole," and thus exercise "direct government"; the larger the numbers acting together, in other words, the more extensive the organization, the more pronounced also are the fruits and requirements thereof. Now, the largest civic-political organization known to civilization is the United States of America. The MASS-ORGANIZATION that the country consists of produces on the one hand a spirit of national uniformity that is striking, despite all seeming evidences to the contrary, a uniformity without which the country could not . ove; while, on the other hand, it produces, as natural obverse to the reverse of uniformity, a popular light-heartedness that runs into emotionalism. The tendency of the political issues, ever tending to divide between only two large political parties, despite the hugeness of the American constituency, may be cited as an illustration of the popular tendency to UNIFORMITY, on the one side; while, on the other, the recent death of the revivalist Moody is a reminder of a series of men, seen in no country but this, cutting a swath unknown in any other, that may serve to illustrate the popular tendency to EMOTIONALISM. The first manifestation may be summed up in the word ORDER, the latter in the word PROGRESS.

No country—due to the exceptional size of the mass that composes it—is so in need of ORDER, lest it go to pieces; or of PROGRESS, lest it petrify.

Political parties are not the creation of the human brain; they are children strained from the loins of the nation from whom they spring. If even in the statutus of statics, political parties in America must unite ORDER with PROGRESS so as at all to operate, it is evident that a party in its dynamic state, a revolutionary party—the liveliest child of a nation, already sufficiently impulsed by the reason of its very being towards PROGRESS,—such a party must have ORDER as a cardinal principle in its mechanism.

Long did the emotional trait endanger the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party. Such was a natural ill of infancy. That period is now passed. "Dug from central gloom, heated hot with burning fears, dipt in baths of hissing tears, and battered with the shock of doom, to shape and use," the Socialist Labor Party emerged from the gloom, the fears, the hissing tears and the shock of the last year, culminating in the trials of the last campaign, in shape and use—unfalteringly aiming at PROGRESS, firmly planted upon ORDER.

THAT NEW ZEALAND PARADISE.

The New Zealand "Journal of the Department of Labour," issued last November 18th, from Wellington, N. Z., "under the direction of the Minister of Labour," is an interesting document all the way through.

Every mentally diseased Jew quickly claims for his race every man or woman who reaches some kind of distinction: It is a clear case of the weak grabbing for support outside of themselves. So with the "Reformers" regarding New Zealand. Every "Reformer," the world over, has claimed New Zealand for his particular hobby. At one time Australia seemed to threaten New Zealand's laurels. But the 'Longshoremen's strike, followed by others of similar magnitude, and all of them followed by capitalist outrages, employed in suppressing the "labor riots," speedily threw Australia out of the ring, leaving New Zealand in undisputed possession of the variegated "Reformers'" heart.

When closely pressed for some evidence in rebuttal of the obvious fact that the Single Tax was an exploded antiquity, the Single Taxer would cite New Zealand as the Single Tax paradise; when shown that the municipalization of railroads, etc., under a capitalist government, not only does not bring the working class one inch nearer to its emancipation, but actually aggravates capitalist domination, and when smoked out of his "Glasgow" illustration, the municipalization reformer leaps across continents and oceans, and points to New Zealand as the practical refutation of "narrow Socialist theory," and the practical demonstration of his own special brand of "Reform"; when told that "Co-operation is a bit of sentimentalism, useless and harmful, unless it is integral, when told that "Co-operation" within the framework of Capitalist Society, so far from being Socialist or even Socialistic, proceeds from premises that embody a tacit denial of Socialist economics, and must accordingly fall, being wrongly grounded, the Co-operationist, together with the Colonizationist and kindred Reformers, rises above the surrounding facts, and plumps down upon New Zealand as the proof of the pudding; when confuted by the towering figures and facts, furnished by England and this country, demonstrating the criminal folly of the "Pure and Simple" organization of Labor, the office-holding, head-and-front of some "Pure and Simple" offending slips through one's fingers, and suddenly plants himself as if on impregnable ground—in New Zealand; and so forth and so on. New Zealand seems, by a common accord among "Reformers," to be a sort of "last ditch" behind which to flee for asylum, where distance, lending enchantment to the view, may also lend safety to explodees.

The "Journal of the Department of Labour" seems to be gotten up with an eye to helping along the asylum. That is one of the interesting features of the document. The other feature of it is the efforts put forth by the "Hon. Minister of Labour" to prevent the New Zealand "Paradise" from being overtaken by the fate that overtook its Australian neighbor. These two interesting features dove-tail into each other, and produce a throughout interesting document, which may be summed up in this sentence:

"With ample land (natural opportunities) to be had for the asking and to be taken for the grabbing; with a variety of industries 'nationalized'; with 'co-operations' doting the territory; with 'pure and simpledom' reigning supreme;—in other words, with the conditions that should afford luxurious life to the Single Taxer's prosperity, steady progress toward Socialism, temporary relief of labor, and power to 'organized' workingmen, above all with a population so sparse as to mitigate anywhere the evil effects of Capitalist Rule, the document shows the army of the unemployed (THROUGH SLACKNESS OF TRADE) who have needed and have obtained public relief, to have reached in the place the respectable figure 143. Moreover, the capitalist rulers of New Zealand, finding the Army of Unemployed, that at their disposal, still too small to furnish the capitalist class with the requisite club for the reduction of wages, the New Zealand capitalist class, through that 'Hon. Minister of Labour,' try to run down all other countries, whither immigrants are pouring, and thus give the New Zealand Paradise-holders improved opportunities."

"Labor departments" in Government—whether they be filled with "Hon. Ministers of Labour" or with "Dishonorable Labor-Fakir Commissioners of Labor"—are all of a kind.

WHAT ARE THE BRITISH CANNON SAYING IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Stripped of all surplusage and more or less confusing elements, the struggle in South Africa simmers down to a very instructive lesson in capitalist sociology, taught by no mean authority, England, a leading capitalist nation, THE leading capitalist nation, as some claim.

Among the outrages charged by England against the Boers is that they will not allow the Uitlanders (British workingmen mainly, engaged in the mines, which British capitalists want to own), to exercise the right of suffrage. The Boers aver that these Uitlanders care nothing for the country; that they come there merely to make all they can, and then return home; that they think of nothing so much as of the day when they will leave the Transvaal; and that, consequently, such are not the elements that a nation can care to clothe with the suffrage, and give a voice in the affairs of the land. England demurred. Protracted negotiations followed at Bloemfontein. The negotiations broke off at the following point: The Boer negotiator demanded that the applicant for citizenship should renounce allegiance to the British Government; the British negotiator flatly refused. Thereupon war ensued.

Now, how is it in England in the matter of suffrage?

As a matter of fact, the British working class is disfranchised. Apart from the plural vote enjoyed by the property-holders; apart from the existing property qualifications that cut into the ranks of the workers;—apart from all that, the registration system and other "Law and Order" provisions in England, have the virtual effect of disfranchising the proletarians of England.

With a disfranchised proletariat at home, a proletariat that the British ruling class would do nothing to enfranchise, what is it that the British cannon are saying in South Africa, as they belch forth their powder and ball "in defence of the rights of suffrage of Englishmen" in the Transvaal? Are they simply announcing to the world the hypocrisy of "our British cousins?" No; they are teaching something infinitely more important.

The ruling class of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is well typified by "Oom Paul." It is pre-eminently a landlord class, a class of large landed property, differing from the British old-style landlord class in this mainly that its income is derived from mining property, and not from rent-rolls. The landlord class proper has ever been fought by the capitalist class, with the proletariat as the club or food for cannon. When physical force was needed, the proletariat did the fighting; when physical force was not needed,—why, then, the proletariat did the voting for the capitalist class. That the capitalist is as quick to deprive the workingmen of the ballot, just as soon as that weapon is no longer needed against the feudal lords, does not affect the case. The same as soldiers are disarmed, war being over, so are the proletarians disarmed of the weapon of peaceful warfare, the ballot, just as soon as that is over; and for the same reasons: men in arms might use their arms in peace; the ballot might be used by the workers. What the British cannon in South Africa are saying is simply this:

"The British capitalist class made a miscalculation. It imagined that the Transvaal landlords had been overcome by the weapons of war, wielded by the British proletariat, under the command of the British capitalist class. It, accordingly, imagined that physical force warfare being over, the period of peaceful warfare, with the ballot as the weapon in proletariat hands, had arrived. Finding itself too previous, it takes a step back, and resumes physical force operations."

Whether, in this instance also, British capitalism will prevail, will overcome the landlord, and, forming its proletariat into voting battalions, will later on continue the battle with the ballot in the Transvaal, is difficult to foretell. History does not always repeat itself. New conditions very materially affect the result of old forces. On the one hand, the Transvaal feudalists have themselves become quite capitalistic; on the other hand, the British proletariat may get tired of the Queen's "sympathy" with their wounds, and do a turn for themselves.

In the meantime the British cannon continues to talk—but, ominously enough for capitalism pure and simple, more and more through their breeches, and less and less through their muzzles.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Political corruption in New Bedford, Mass., took such an upward swing at the recent election there, and the fraudulent claim of prosperity is so transparent, that the whole situation is well satirized in the New Bedford "Standard," by a correspondent who signs himself "A Ten Dollar Voter." Says he:

In view of the fact that wages in general are being advanced, the treatment we voters received in our recent municipal elections at the hands of our bosses, in having the price of our votes reduced from five to three dollars is outrageous, and measures ought to be taken to resent this outrage by the voters of New Bedford. Therefore, I propose to the voters of New Bedford that we organize and unite in demanding that not only shall our former rates be restored, but an advance on those rates shall be made. I hope my fellow citizens will not allow this matter to drop until carried to a successful issue.

The Philadelphia, Pa., "Tageblatt" (Socialist for Revenue Only), is of opinion that there is too much terrorism in the Socialist Labor Party to suit it.

The mouth of the "Tageblatt" is an excellent setting to the "Terrorism" that it objects to.

The "Tageblatt" believes (it is profitable to believe) that the municipalization à la Glasgow is the right thing to preach. The S. L. P., having no peanuts to sell, repudiates the swindle.

The "Tageblatt," needing the support of the middle class for advertisements and sales, declares it is tyranous to preach straight Socialism. The S. L. P., not being a business venture ,plump and plain says: "The devil take 'business'!"

The "Tageblatt," finding it profitable to propitiate the "beer interest," countenances "speak-easies" as centers of Party activity. The S. L. P., being an honorable organization, refuses to lower its standard for the sake of revenue, and rather goes down clean than float an ulcer on the surface of the water.

Yes; the tyranny of the S. L. P. must be unbearable to the "Tageblatt,"—the Philadelphia "New Yorker Volkszeitung."

Criticising Senator Hoar for some philanthropic utterances, the New York Times, through whose columns still breathe the stupidity and hard-heartedness of the late Roswell P. Flower, says:

George F. Hoar is a far wiser man than Jones of Toledo, but he mixes in his political philosophy the same Socialistic mush. He wants to give everybody everything, make everybody happy, abolish sin and suffering, and put the world under the sway of the golden rule.

It suits the spirit of the Governor, who signed the ten-hour law for railroad workers, and promptly furnished the Buffalo railroad magnates with all the militia of the State to help them enforce the violation of the law, infinitely better to preach a doctrine whereby nobody (but the fleecers) "shall have anything"; where nobody (but the fleecers) "shall be made happy"; where sin shall flourish, free to all, and suffering for the toilers only; and where the Golden Rule shall be in express words derided.

Strange how a paper will preserve the lineaments of its owner even after his death!

Says the "Citizen and Country":

Man is the most ferocious of all animals. A hyena will kill its kind in anger or in a battle over food: but man is the only creature under heaven that goes forth with a full stomach to kill thousands of his fellow creatures with whom he has no quarrel and whom he has never seen.

From which the only inference is that ferocity is more of a human than a beast feature; which is absurd. But it is not simply the absurdity of the zoology or the greater absurdity of the idea that shocks; either were of comparatively little importance. The really shocking feature of the utterance is the false sociologic principle that it points to, to wit, that the seat of the social evils, complained of by humanity, is the heart of the race. It is this absurd principle that the wind-jamming reformer has in mind when he preaches against "greed" as the cause of all evil, and it is that very absurd principle that the sanctimonious capitalist seizes upon when he urges people to first improve human nature, and then, after it has been improved, vote the Capitalist System down—leaving the Capitalist Class, of course, all the while in quiet possession and enjoyment of the fruits of unimproved human nature.

Man is not the most ferocious of all animals. What man is is a being gifted with foresight. Want is an immediate suffering; the lowest as well as the most highly developed animal feels that; to satisfy the prompting of want is the moving spring of all animals. But "Fear of Want" is an equally pressing ill; that ill most animals do not feel; they seem not to be endowed with the foresight requisite therefor; not foreseeing want, where none presses upon them most animals care not for the food that they have no immediate use for. Man, endowed pre-eminently with foresight, is pre-eminently subject to the torture of the "Fear of Want," and that torture has a sharper talon than want itself: to the physical, the mental force is added. In his acts of refined and unrefined cannibalism man but proceeds from the material basis of material needs.

Human nature, meaning the impulses of man are reflects of his material groundwork.

WHO PAYS THE TAXES?

Does it Make Any Difference to the Working Class Whether Taxes Are High or Low?

The adage that the consumer pays the taxes has been used by the politicians of the Democratic-Republican party to confuse and mislead the working class. Their "reasoning" has taken the form of the following syllogism:

The consumer pays the taxes. The working class make up the bulk of the consumers. Therefore the working class pay the bulk of the taxes.

As usual, the "pure and simple" labor leaders get their cue from the capitalist politicians; it is, therefore, no surprise to see New York Typographical Union ("Big Six") trying to get middle class support for the strike on the "Sun" by classifying the strikers as "tax payers." The Socialist Labor Party flings a challenge to the whole collection of capitalists and capitalists' parasites—the pure and simplers included—by asserting that the working class pay no taxes. "Prove it!" cry the misleaders. "Certainly," reply the Socialists. And in pursuance of the Socialist's habit of proving everything he says, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party has recently published a pamphlet entitled "Taxation."

The author of the pamphlet is Lucien Sanial. To the careful observer he has conclusively proven that the workingman who bothers his head as to whether taxes should be high or low is about as muddled as would be the workingman who should seriously consider the question of whether President McKinley should eat canvas-back duck once a week or six times a week. Mr. Sanial discusses the question from the point of view of the class-conscious workers, and sizes up the rascality of capitalist politicians with the following terse words:

On the eve of election day the classes that ride upon the back of the workingman send out to him their respective political lackeys, who, bowing low, call him the great, the just, the sovereign people and their only master; then proceed to roundly denounce each other for all the wrongs of which he may have to complain. If taxation be "the issue," they will endeavor to show him that the total burden which he must anyhow carry can be lightened by merely changing the relative positions of its parts; the only question being as to which of the idle classes shall ride free and easy on the top of all.

Starting out with the classical proposition of Engels that taxes are a matter of very slight interest to the working class, the author marshals fact after fact to prove the absolute impregnability of this position of the Socialist Labor Party. The question is discussed under the following heads:

All Wealth is Produced by the Working Class.
How the Capitalist "Government" Gets the Wealth.
The Power of Taxation.
The Theory of "Equal" Taxation.
The Evolution of Taxation.
The American System of Taxation.
Wages and Taxation.
1. Taxation Does not Reduce Wages.
2. Taxation May Increase Wages.
Prices and Taxation:
1. Retail Prices of Necessaries Not Affected by Fluctuations of the Wholesale Market.
2. Amount of Taxes on Commodities Consumed by the Working Class is too Insignificant to Deserve Notice.
How the Cohorts of the Socialist Republic Will Wield the Power of Taxation.

The chapters on "Wages and Taxation" and "Prices and Taxation" are especially replete with facts for the working class, and with these facts in his possession the class-conscious workingman can easily put to flight the bamboozling spellbinders of the capitalist political parties.

Price, Five cents.
Ten copies, Thirty-five cents.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
147 East 23d st., New York City.

Election Returns.

These further details about the Massachusetts State election are reported:

The vote by counties for George R. Peare, S. L. P. candidate for Governor, compares with the vote of 1898 as follows:

County.	1899.	1898.
Barnstable	11	18
Berkshire	329	665
Bristol	727	1,235
Dukes	19	14
Essex	2,132	1,940
Franklin	85	67
Hampden	1,119	1,163
Hampshire	96	128
Middlesex	1,769	1,008
Nantucket	8	5
Norfolk	459	269
Plymouth	613	378
Suffolk	1,884	1,453
Worcester	1,527	1,720
Totals	10,778	10,063

The S. L. P. had candidates in 3 of the 8 Councillor Districts, and in 9 of the 40 Senate Districts. The following is the S. L. P. vote in these districts with the percentage it constitutes of the total vote polled:

Councillor Districts.	Vote.	Percentage.
1.—John Neal	1,309	4½
2.—Albert S. Kent	3,808	11
8.—Herman Koepke	2,337	5¾
Senate Districts.	**Vote.**	**Percentage.**
1.—Suffolk—Byron Efford	272	3¾
1.—Essex—John A. Henley	370	6½
4.—Middlesex—Joel Miller	319	5⅞
Middlesex and Essex—Norman A. Torry	960	11
2.—Worcester—Sumner H. Mason	413	6
1.—Hampden—G. H. Wrenn	503	5¾
2.—Hampden—John R. MacNally	635	6⅞
1.—Plymouth—E. H. Robbins	545	11
3.—Bristol—P. J. McFadden	554	9

The Peoples New Years Issue.

Sections and Comrades will please take notice that the New Year's issue, which was to have been the issue for this week, has been postponed one week, till January 7th, owing to Comrade Hickey's illness.

Comrade Hickey is now well again, and his Bull Pen article will appear in the next number.

All orders must be at hand not later than Tuesday morning, January 2.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Damn those workingmen. They are always striking. Always up to some mischief.

UNCLE SAM—Do you imagine they strike for the fun of it?

B. J.—It does look that way sometimes to me; although I know that they don't do so for the fun of it. The fools imagine they can gain by it.

U. S.—I admit they are often—

B. J.—Often? Usually, always in error.

U. S.—Even if they were so, the blame is not theirs.

B. J.—Whose is the blame? Mine, I suppose!

U. S.—Yours some times. Others' other times. The blame, in short, lies with you capitalists; if anybody is the fool it is you people; and if anybody is to be damned it should be you, the capitalists.

B. J.—Why, we do everything we can to prevent strikes.

U. S.—Sometimes you do, but sometimes you don't. You know well that when you want to break a contract, or when you want to stop work because your supply of goods is too large you simply instigate a strike. You get the labor fakir whom you keep in your pay to prod the men, and a strike follows. Whose is the blame?

B. J.—Well, that is an exceptional case. As a rule, it don't come that way.

U. S.—If it don't come that way exactly it comes virtually that way.

B. J.—All the other strikes proceed from the stupidity of the men.

U. S.—I have shown you, in the instance quoted that the strike proceeded from you in fact. Now take this other instance. You keep the labor fakir in your pay to prevent Socialist agitation from entering the union. Socialist agitation would teach the workers how little there is in strikes. Being kept away from information, and by your doing, whose is the blame if your workers act ignorantly?

(U. S. turns B. J. around, grabs him by the collar and the seat of his pants, and gives him a kick that sets him flying.)

* * *

BROTHER JONATHAN—If only the employers were less greedy, how beautifully they could get along with their workmen.

UNCLE SAM—And you think a little less greed would solve the Labor Question?

B. J.—That's it, exactly.

U. S.—There is John Jones who only has $10,000 in his factory; do you think he can produce as cheaply as Richard Roe who works with a $50,000 capital?

B. J.—N-n-o.

U. S.—Each piece of goods that John Jones produces costs him fully twice as much as each piece of goods that Richard Roe produces. Can John Jones compete with Richard Roe?

B. J.—Hardly.

U. S.—What is left for him to do but to reduce his cost of production?

B. J.—Nothing.

U. S.—Won't he be driven to lower the wages of his employees?

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—If he don't would he carry on business?

B. J.—No!

U. S.—If he does—

B. J.—He is safe.

U. S.—Nixy. He is busted all the same, although his lease of life may be a little longer.

B. J.—But if he is busted anyhow, what help is there?

U. S.—The help there is for him is that he kick out the labor fakir whom he keeps salaried in the union. That is so much money saved, to begin with.

Secondly, that he realize that he is doomed unless the Socialist Labor party wins. Because then competition will be abolished.

Third, that he aid his employees to realize their class interests and that, proceeding upon those class interests, they must conquer the public powers, and thereby overthrow the capitalist system.

Finally, join his workers and shoulder to shoulder with them march under the banner of the S. L. P. The overthrow of the capitalist system would free him from the mill-stone of small property that now, tied to his neck, is drowning him, and he would become part-owner in and enjoyer of the wealth produced in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Thus, you will see, the "greed" question is no question.

"Time, and Wind Up."

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Wm. Booth, Jersey City, N. J.]

The good ones who are truly good,
May seek the martyr's crown,
But we must train as fighters;
There are foes we must knock down.

* * *

No soft hearts, no soft sentiments,
Nor softer heads will do;
No! nor temporizing scoundrels;
Make them howl and make them rue.

* * *

'Tis true we are "intolerant"
And "narrow," shysters say,
Which shows we land them straight ones;
Why should we not be gay?

* * *

It shows that things have changed a deal!
What was, no more can be;
Those not with us are against us,
So plain that all can see.

* * *

No more they swing us where they will,
No more we're powder food:
We chase them to old parties fast,
The side-track kind's no good.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can aord to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23rd st., N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

UNIONISM.

Early Experience of Militant German Socialism Coinciding with America's.

Fifty years ago the economic and political conditions of Germany were still largely feudal. The factory system, which in England had completely superseded the old method of production in the great industries of England, and had also acquired a considerable development in France, was in its infancy on German soil. As late as 1846, in the kingdom of Prussia, which was industrially the most advanced of the States now comprising the German Empire, the establishments employing each fifty hands or more occupied in the aggregate less than 250,000 persons; whereas there were 1,470,000 artisans working on their own account, and 450,000 small master mechanics employing 385,000 workmen and apprentices. Commerce, also, was almost entirely in the hands of the middle class.

The Prussian Code of Trade (Gewerbe-Ordnung) of 1845 contained rigorous provisions against combinations of laborers and mechanics, and similar restrictions were imposed in other parts of Germany. But there was already an undercurrent of thought which could not be repressed, originating in the superficial agitation of the middle class itself for political reforms, and deflected in a social economic direction when it reached the wage-working strata. Despite prohibitive laws and arbitrary measures, a number of labor societies had been formed, the actual object of which was the discussion of social questions and economic evils. Their chief spirits were in sympathy with the "League of the Just," which, in 1847, resolutely planted itself upon the high platform of their "Communist Manifesto" and assumed the name of "Communist League."

When the revolution of 1848 broke out, the middle class of Germany, in obedience to the same perverse instinct that moved its French prototype, set to the work of confiscating it. A number of guilds (societies of master mechanics), professing the greatest interest in the welfare of "their hands," held a congress at Francfort. Their first act was to refuse admittance to the delegates of the wage-workers' organizations, who thereupon met in separate convention and drafted a program of demands, in opposition to the masters' program, for the consideration of the revolutionary parliament then sitting at Francfort. This parliament, however, was dissolved before it could enact any laws, and in February, 1849, the Prussian Diet adopted a new Code of Trade, in which the prohibitive provisions concerning labor combinations were omitted, but not repealed. This code remained in force until 1868, when the parliament of the newly-formed North German Confederation proceeded in the elaboration of another, which, as finally adopted, became binding upon all the States of the then existing Confederation, and, lastly, upon all the States of the German Empire when, three years later, the King of Prussia donned the imperial robe.

By this national law the right of organization and strike was granted, and all State laws denying it were declared null and void. Nevertheless the general right in question continued impaired to a large extent by certain State enactments, which in some way or another, interfering "only" with the rights of meeting and association, were held by the courts to be still in force, and were applied with extreme rigor by the authorities of the various States.

Since 1848 the factory system had rapidly developed. In Prussia the number of persons employed in factories increased from 557,000 in 1846, to 678,000 in 1858, and 760,000 in 1861. In the handicraft trades a change occurred during the same period, still more suggestive by the evidence it gave of a tendency to concentration. The number of master mechanics decreased from 553,000 in 1852 to 545,000 in 1861, while the number of wage-workers in their employ increased from 447,000 to 507,000. Since 1861 the economic changes in Germany have been even greater than the political. In 1895, of the 18,000,000 people earning a livelihood at some occupation, 8,150,000 were engaged in agriculture, 1,700,000 in commerce including hotels, etc.), 600,000 in transportation, and 8,300,000 in mining, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. It was in 1862 that Lassalle began his agitation; three years later came the Internationalists; so that, in 1869, numbers of North German workingmen, who had already sent seven representatives to the North German parliament, were well prepared to improve every possible advantage which the new Code of Trade might afford. The Lassallians found their basis of organization in the German Workingmen's Relief Association (Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiterunterstützungs-Verband), the "Eisenach" or Marxist fraction went on organizing various trades.

The capitalist class had, of course, strongly opposed the concession made by the government to the proletariat. But Bismarck, who had in view greater schemes even than those which he had just successfully carried out, needed, courted, and hoped to obtain the support of the masses. It was for this reason, no doubt, that he had granted universal suffrage upon the establishment of the North German Confederation. He must have thought also that, judging from Great Britain, trade unionism could not, after all, become a serious source of trouble to the State, or even to the capitalists. At any rate he was strong, and if any evil ever came in sight, it would then be time enough to act forcibly.

With that keen scent of approaching danger that is characteristic of a highly developed class-consciousness, the capitalists took a more correct view of the situation than did the famed statesman. Although the trade organizations were forbidden by the Code to discuss political affairs or to combine politically—a prohibition that our own Strasser and his Gompers were then too young to have suggested to Bismarck—they realised that a field of agitation had been opened to the Socialists, which those wicked and irrepressible disturbers of mind content would not be deterred from exploiting by any threat or punishment; but they could use every dispute—not between the capitalist class and the laboring class, mark well, but between the Siamese twins, Capital and Labor—as a vivid illustration of the fact that there is a "class struggle," and that the day would come, sooner than expected, when it would be too late, even for a Bismarck, to extirpate Socialism from the fatherland.

Looking hopelessly for a remedy, the capitalists found, as they thought, a palliative, or rather embraced the men who claimed to have found one. These were Dr. Hirsch and his associate, Duncker; the first, fresh from England, where he had made a short trip to study the principles and workings of that great British trades-unionism which had proved impermeable to the teachings of the "International." Upon the same principles—namely, that Capital and Labor are brothers, indispensable to each other, equally responsible to the nation for its progress, having therefore identical interests, and both of whom should never allow their friendly relations so necessary to the public welfare, to be unduly disturbed by mere market disturbances, naturally inevitable, but self-adjustable, according to the eternal law of supply and demand—upon those great, humane and sensible principles, we say, Dr. Hirsch and his Duncker would organize the labor of Germany, and benevolently bind it to their unions by insurance schemes, sick benefits and undertakers' arrangements at its own expense. Of course, no man—no wolf—professing or suspected of entertaining Socialist opinions would be admitted into the sheep fold.

Surely those of our German comrades now in this country, who remember this insiduous attempt of capitalistic agents to sidetrack and paralyze the labor movement of their native land, will remember also the contempt with which it was looked upon by them and their fellow Socialists. They will also recognize that the faithful picture of the Hirsch-Dunckerschen Gewerkvereine which is here given might be taken for a photograph of the "pure and simple" unions of America, in which they have been compelled for so long a time to cut so sorry a figure. And, acting logically now, as they did then, they will by all means hasten the day of sound, honest, uncompromising economic organization in this country under its only possible banner, the banner of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Despite the direct influence exerted by the "bosses" upon their employees in favor of the Hirsch-Duncker abortion, the latter numbered only 18,000 members in 1872; whereas, in the face of the extraordinary persecution by the employers and the authorities, the membership of Socialist unions (Lassallian and Marxist) was about 70,000. In 1878, when the "laws of exception" were passed, a number of Socialist unions that did not act with sufficient promptitude or secrecy, were forcibly dissolved by the police and their funds were confiscated. The other quickly disbanded. (See Socialist Almanac.—Socialism in Germany.) One of the latter, a miners' organization, numbered at that time 60,000.

But, precisely because the economic organization of labor was a Socialist structure from foundation to flagstaff, cemented in all its parts with proletarian solidarity, it was indestructible. After a few months only of prostration, when the comrades had sufficiently recovered from the first shock to take their reckoning and devise a plan of action, the trade-union movement not only resumed its march, but proved a powerful means of strengthening the party in its unequal struggle with the tremendous enginery of despotism at the command of Bismarck. Under one form or another the unions were reorganized, or rather survived with a life energy increased by the heat of the conflict. In some important trades they even contrived to federate through a system of trustees (Vertrauensmänner-System). Some, who had made such changes in their by-laws as might enable them to openly exist, and who correctly relied for the preservation of their Socialistic efficiency upon the principle that the spirit, not the form, was of fundamental importance, appealed to the courts when the authorities undertook to dissolve them, fought the enemy for years with his own weapon of chicanery, and finally won their cases. It goes without saying that every such legal tournament was turned from beginning to end into an occasion for the very agitation and propaganda which the Government was striving to suppress.

With the fall of Bismarck the exception laws came to an end; but although the worst fetters by which trade unionism had been hampered were at last removed, enough impediments remained to greatly interfere with the work of organization. Nevertheless, rapid progress was made, especially since 1893, when the Socialists, by casting 1,786,000 votes and electing 44 deputies, gave their prosecutors a warning that the days of despotism in any form were numbered. The membership of the unions increased from 229,810 in 1893 to 252,044 in 1894; 269,956 in 1895; 335,088 in 1896, and 419,162 in 1897. In the latter year, of the 574 strikes in which they were engaged they completely won 272, were partly successful in 146 and lost only 156.

And once more bear in mind that all this was accomplished on the lines of battle exactly followed by the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. No Socialist in Germany ever thought of "propitiating" the Hirsch-Duncker fakirs, or feeding them with dues. The notion that the propaganda could best be carried on by opposing Socialist unions and contributing in any way, direct or indirect, to the perpetuation of the Hirsch-Duncker scheme, never entered a German Socialist's brain—in Germany.—LUCIEN SANIAL, in "Socialist Almanac."

S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitution with Platform in English, German and Polish, per 100	50c.
Constitution in Jewish, without Platform, per 100	40c.
Due cards, per 100	40c.
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Orders should be accompanied with cash. It implies an unnecessary waste of time and money to keep credit accounts for such small amounts, often sending a number of bills before collection is made, which time and money can be put to a better purpose.

Address all orders to Henry Kuhn, 61 Beekman street, New York City.

The receipt of a sample copy of THE PEOPLE is an invitation to subscribe.

THE DAILY PEOPLE.

Drum-Rap of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

COMRADES:—At the request of the "Daily People" conference, we call upon you for substantial aid and energetic co-operation in procuring the necessary means for the issue of a Socialist daily newspaper in New York City on or about July 1st, 1900.

At a recent meeting of the said Conference the Comrades present (numbering about 200) gave practical evidence of their earnestness by subscribing on the spot, for the object in view, sums aggregating $1,500. They also devised a comprehensive plan, through which the further amount to be raised and the cost of carrying on the enterprise will be reduced to a minimum.

In the first place, various offices of the Party and its organs, now inconveniently located at different places, will be centralized in one building, thereby saving a considerable portion of the total rent which is paid at present for inferior accommodations. Among such offices may be mentioned those of the National Executive Committee, the Central Committee of Section Greater New York, THE PEOPLE, the "Abendblatt," the Labor News Co., the S. T. & L. A., and several other organizations.

Again, the plant of the "Abendblatt," including a Hoe perfecting press, capable of printing 20,000 copies per hour, a gas engine, stereotyping and other machinery, can be used by the English daily; so that a comparatively small sum will be required to complete its outfit, chiefly by the purchase of typesetting machines, which are payable by installments. Moreover, the consolidation, as far as practicable, of such departments as printing, folding, mailing, expressing, etc., will permit of economies and afford facilities, equally beneficial to the Party press and to all other agencies of Party propaganda, namely the Labor News Co., and every active section in the country.

Lastly, from the Socialist vote of nearly 50,000 cast in New York and the neighboring States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, that can promptly be reached by a daily, taking also into consideration the growing interest manifested in the progress and principles of Socialism by a vast number of people who do not yet vote our ticket; it is moderately estimated that from the very beginning a circulation of 25,000 can be attained. Observe that the weekly PEOPLE, intended for more distant States, could then be largely made up of selected articles in the daily, thus considerably reducing its cost, while increasing its efficiency.

It were superfluous to urge upon you the absolute necessity and immense value, to the whole American movement, of a Socialist daily newspaper during the next Presidential campaign. No steps that the Party might now take, no expenditure that the Party might now afford, could so effectually advance its cause and promote its object. Let, therefore, every militant Socialist come to the front and make this matter his own; let him give it his immediate attention and persistent care; let him subscribe to the full amount of his means and get others to do likewise. Let the watchword be everywhere: "Onward with the DAILY PEOPLE!" owned by the Socialist Labor Party.

It has been estimated that the sum of $15,000 will be required to make the start, and we must set ourselves the task of raising this amount as a minimum, adding to it as many more dollars as possible.

Party Sections are called upon to at once take up this matter at their meetings, go over the ground carefully, determine upon the amount they can raise by whatever means as may be at their disposal, and report to the undersigned. Individual members and all friends of the cause who are interested in the establishment of a daily Socialist paper in the metropolis of this continent and are willing to contribute as well as start collections for this fund, are requested to report without delay, stating the sums they expect to contribute and collect.

REPORTS SHOULD BE MADE BETWEEN NOW AND FEBRUARY 1, 1900.

AMOUNTS PLEDGED MUST BE PAID BY MAY 1, 1900.

The progress of the work will be fully reported in the Party press.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Secretary,
61 Beekman street, (Box 1576),
New York City.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

147 East 23rd Street, New York City

(Store open from 8 A. M. to 9 P. M.)

The following pamphlets are recommended to all persons desiring to learn the principles of the Modern Socialist Movement—its tactics and its development. There are also included a few books which are not written by Socialists, but which contain information that intelligent persons should possess.

Karl Marx:	
The Communist Manifesto	$0.10
Wage Labor and Capital	.05
Value, Price and Profit	.35
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon	.25
The Civil War in France	.10
Frederick Engels:	
Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science	.05
Hyndman and Morris:	
A Summary of the Principles of Socialism	.15
Ferdinand Lassalle:	
What is Capital?	.05
The Workingman's Programme	.10
A. P. Hazell:	
The Exploitation of Labor	.05
H. Quelch:	
Economics of Labor	.05
Quelch and Wright:	
Socialism and the Single Tax: a debate	.05
Lucien Sanial:	
The Socialist Almanac	.50
Territorial Expansion	.05
The New Trusts	.05
Taxation	.05
Daniel De Leon:	
Reform or Revolution	.05
What Means this Strike?	.05
Thomas A. Hickey:	
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Erin's Hope	.05
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The Capitalist Class	.05
The Proletariat	.05
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We have secured a number of Lissagaray's standard books "History of the Paris Commune," regular price, $1.00, which we offer at 70 cents while they last. To clubs of ten at 60 cents.

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Catalogue mailed free of charge on application.

Make all money-orders payable to the New York Labor News Co.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognised.]

Don't write on both sides of the sheet;
Don't write on tissue paper;
Don't write with pencil;
Don't write with a broom-stick, if a tooth-pick is handy, pens preferred;
Don't crowd your lines;
Don't begin at the uppermost edge of the sheet;
Don't abbreviate;
Don't forget to give your P. O. address and date of letter;
Don't forget to give name and date of paper when sending clippings;
Don't write your signature as tho' you wished to remain incognito;
Don't write proper names so as to insure the chances of their being misspelled;
Don't write on sheets of uneven size;
Don't take this ill.

The Meaning of Ruther's Defeat in Holyoke.

TO THE PEOPLE.—The Socialist Labor Party is making history. To properly understand that history it is necessary to chronicle the important minor details of important facts.

My defeat in Holyoke, this year, is a fact; but the fact is liable to be misunderstood, unless one knows the minor details which lead up to it. If one should judge that the S. L. P. has been dealt a blow (as some of the capitalist papers are trying to make it appear), such judgment would be false. My defeat was but an incident of political warfare; it was caused by petty local reasons, wholly foreign to Socialism or the S. L. P. To understand this it is necessary to mention that it was these petty local reasons to mention that it elect me last year; these petty reasons being absent this year my election was not possible owing to the fact that Socialist thought and knowledge is not yet sufficiently developed to secure the election of a Socialist upon the merits of Socialism alone.

Last year, shortly before election, it was discovered that our tax collector, who had been with pride looked upon as a model city official, was a defaulter of the city's money to the tune of $125,000. This discovery was all the more aggravating, since the defaulting had been done right under the noses of Republican and Democratic administrations alike. In this angry state of mind, the voters were ready to vote for any one who offered to chance of being better than the other fellows. Well, my election was not a surprise under such conditions. Under normal conditions, Ward Three is hostile to Socialism and the S. L. P., for the reason that it was re-divided three years ago for the express purpose of preventing the election of a Socialist in the former stronghold.

Ward 3 is now composed of two precincts, A and B. B has 360 voters, and is a workmen's quarters. A has 575 voters, and is the quarters of some very rich men, many middle-class men, and lots of that element in society who, by reasons of having a somewhat better pay or job, own a home of their own—with a mortgage on it—and they strain every nerve to keep the mortgage from crushing out their existence as real estate owners. These people are terribly nervous about the tax question and city expenditures. It is they who begrudge the city laborers a fair pay for fear the taxes go up. It is they who are responsible for overcrowded schoolhouses and neglected streets, because they refuse to support any one who talks increase of appropriations. It is they who rest like a nightmare upon modern progress and progressive thought for fear "it costs too much." These people looked with alarm upon "Alderman Ruther," whom they had helped to elect, seeing he suggested so many improvements in city affairs that would cost money, and that would mean a higher tax rate, being too short-sighted to note the ultimate benefit to themselves.

They preferred to elect a man of their own class, whose chief political virtue is to keep his mouth shut and vote with the majority. When we consider that we have but four Comrades living in Precinct A of Ward 3, is it any wonder that we received but 105 votes against the 158 last year?

As to the decrease in Precinct B, from 231 of last year to 188 this year, it must be borne in mind that the middle-class element of that precinct also named one of their own class, a real estate dealer, to oppose the election of a Socialist, and he polled 78 votes;—sufficient to beat me.

The third and most important reason leading to the Party's defeat, is the fact that I took such a determined and uncompromising stand in the Holyoke city Government that the class struggle of our movement became so clear as to frighten away all the unthinking and middle-class element instead of attracting it. This can not be considered in the light of a drawback, but rather as a necessary operation to clear the road for future and more effective work.

Things are shaping themselves in favor of a clear and uncompromising movement against the hydra-headed movement of concentrated capitalism.

The future is ours, and it will be ours, by merit and right, not by sentiment or coaxing.

M. RUTHER.

Holyoke, Dec. 20th.

Boys as Horses.

To THE PEOPLE.—What will the workingmen of the fair Borough of Brooklyn think of this?

Monday evening, the 18th inst., about the hour of 10 p. m., a lad of about 15 years could be seen within pistol-shot of the Borough Hall, arrayed in a uniform which was marked with the letters of A. & S., with a large rope around his shoulders, said rope being tied to a small packing case which was laden with packages and having four small wheels evidently not well lubricated, for a squeeking noise was very evident. The device permitted of his carrying more than the share usually allotted to two boys.

Thus it can be seen how the capitalists are getting us slowly but nevertheless surely into harness, and it may be in the order of things that an automatic whip, which can be applied to the flanks of Mr. Workingman whenever he shows an inclination to kick over the traces, will be one of the appurtenances of the no distant future.

What a splendid moral all this shows to us, here in the much-vaunted free America! A boy, who should be at school, dragging through the streets a packing box laden with the spoils that his masters have robbed his kin of.

Fellow Socialists, spread the news broadcast, and try in every fair way to arouse the drones from their slumbers that they may see the Beacon Light of Socialism.

H. S. LAW.

Brooklyn, Dec. 19, 1899.

On the Kentucky Election.

To THE PEOPLE.—The S. L. P.'s vote is 615 for the head of the ticket. I think it is not saying too much that the S. L. P. has done finely for the first State campaign. In almost every county straight S. L. P. votes were cast, but the surprises of the election were furnished by Louisville, Jefferson County, and Lawrence County. The former for its small number of votes as against the previous year, and the latter for its large number of straight votes, 102 in number.

Regarding Louisville, we can only say that a more corrupt election was never before held here, although we have had them bad enough. All the Socialist and Independent tickets were refused election inspectors, regardless of the plain wording of the law, which allows a representative of each and every official party at the polls.

The Democrats, headed by their two election commissioners, Heontz and Caruth, carried things high-handedly, so that even their capitalist brother, the Republican Governor Bradley, had to call out the troops on election day.

Intimidation and fraud were the order of the day. In many places the Socialist representatives were forcibly ejected. It was the object of the local Section to prosecute the offenders, but upon investigation it was found that the cost would be too much for the present, and that the same money can be better used next year to prevent a recurrence of the fraud.

On the other hand, we must also admit that the local agitation was carried on poorly during the whole campaign. It behooves Section Louisville to look to its laurels or else it will be outstripped by the younger Sections of Paducah and Newport.

Section Louisville also suffers from the drawback of too much "Singing Section" and "Sick and Death Benefit Fund" agitation. Some comrades seem never to learn the lesson taught by nearly every German Section in the country, namely, that "jinership" (Vereinsmeierei) for amusement or death benefits, will never harmonize with the activity needed by the clear, straight tactics of the S. L. P. I know a good many well-meaning comrades continually say that these societies are "agitating for Socialism." I think the plain facts and the history of our movement in this country prove the contrary. We have at present a strong singing society ("Social Männerchor") which claims to have been at one time a Section of the Party. Yet, to-day, it is grown altogether reactionary, and it is doubtful if we ever get a vote from its ranks.

In spite of this fact, another Singing Section has been organized out of our midst, for the purpose of "competing" with the other one in propagating (?) Socialism.

Some of our members usually point to the fact that several of our best members are also active in the "Singing Section." I maintain that they are good Party members, not BECAUSE they belong to the Singing Section, but IN SPITE of it. I think that in NO PLACE ought the Party name be used for the purposes before said, as societies of that nature are bound to be non-political, calling for individual desirability or capability, and not for political opinion.

In conclusion I desire to state that quite recently we had two freaks in our midst, John Most and "High Dues" Tobin. Neither of them proved a drawing card, however, for both left benighted Louisville to its fate after a lengthy exhortation for more "BLUD" and "higher dues" respectively. Thus can the wicked S. L. P. again continue its agitation for less "freaks" and more clear-headed, uncompromising men.

ALBERT SCHMUTZ.

Louisville, Ky., Dec. 16.

Post-Mortem Death Rattle of the K. of L.

To THE PEOPLE.—"The twenty-third General Assembly not only marks the thirty years of achievement in the struggle for humanity, in which our Order has always been the pioneer in thought, in method, in successful effort in placing beacon lights to mark the danger spots, and in life-boat work during every storm; but turns the closing days of the century into a mile-post, upon which is chiseled the record of official murder, illegal imprisonment and torture as the punishment for membership in a union of the toilers, a union for the defence and for the elevation of their craft and citizenship." ?!?!!?!!!

I hate to fill up so much of the valuable space in THE PEOPLE with the above, so many before me having punctured the K. of L. bubble, but it is so good an admission of its impotency by one of its leading lights that I could not resist the temptation. The extract is the first paragraph of the General Worthy (?) Foreman's report. Peruse it twice. Then guffaw. Think of it, fellow workingmen: "thirty years of achievement," "successful effort," "beacon lights," "life-boat work" against increasing "official murder," "illegal punishment," and "torture."—Bah! and yet.

The queer caperings of the foxy old grug that conceived the above are not a whit better. To Socialists of the Socialist Labor Party he says: "You are narrow, bigoted," et cetera, "what We want is something now." This particular gent got it. What? Member of the Insane Asylum Committee of the State of Colorado. He is a photo of the rest of that ignominious gang; they all form a group photo of the impotent Knights of Labor. Probably conceived in a partial spirit of class-consciousness, but fallen into the hands of imbeciles and ignoramuses, the K. of L. was reared into conceit, vanity and ignorance and is now gasping its post-mortem breath in twaddle-bombast.

Listen, you wage-slaves! Never again let such an outfit deceive you with winning smiles, false promises and pretenses. They are Delilahs to you Samsons. Away with them. Tear them out, root and branch. Build up YOURSELVES into a class-conscious organization founded on the rock-bed of the class struggle, reared in the light of a new philosophy and a new code of morals, which is, "Labor alone produces wealth; let labor take it." In passing away, such organization will leave in its stead the CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH. Up with the S. T. & L. A.; down political bosses and red-handed murderers! Speed the Social Revolution!

WM. KNIGHT.

Pueblo, Colo., Dec. 15., '99.

Working the Workers in Vancouver.

To THE PEOPLE.—Apropos of the article in THE PEOPLE of December 10, "The Millennium Entering the Country via the Golden Gate," I can throw some light on the methods of the "Great Eugene V. Debs" in eking out a precarious existence and blowing off his mouth under the title of "Scientific Socialism." What the "science" is I shall immediately show.

I happened to be one of the delegates from the General Laborers' Union, L. A. 250, S. T. & L. A., to the Pure and Simple Trades and Labor Council of this city on the night on which arrangements were made for Debs to speak in this city. It was at the expense of the Trade and Labor Council that he came.

Right here permit me to digress a moment to expose the general make-up of this Trades and Labor Council. It is a conglomeration of stone-heads, labor fakirs and subsidized press representatives, with a few sprinklings of "me too" and "coming our way" Socialists, of whom one Watson is the principal luminary. He declares himself a Socialist, at the same time he holds a Government position (from the Great Party) in the local Customs Office, shouting at the top of his voice "No Politics in the Union," and this municipal election ran labor candidates (fakirs and reformers so-called, every one of them) for Mayor, Aldermen, etc.

To revert to Debs and what transpired at the Trades Council, on the night on which arrangements were made for him. The notorious Mr. Blackburn, President of the Seattle Trades and Labor Council, was sent to arrange for terms with the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council. After a lot of brotherly love gush, given by Blackburn, the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council agreed to give Eugene V. Debs $150 for one night's lecture, $25 for traveling expenses, and $25 for postage and hotel expenses. The Council was to have all the money that was made over. Home went the luminaries of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, dreaming of profits galore, and on that they slept.

Well, Debs came; he allowed no questions or discussion; he appealed to the middle class; he informed us that "Vanderbilt could not digest an oyster," amid great expressions of sorrow from the class-conscious workingmen present; he gave us a soul-stirring poem on the discovery of America by Columbus; he informed us he had books for sale on Middle-class Municipalization; and then he disappeared.

Now for the profits that had been so vividly dreamed of by certain luminaries. On auditing receipts and expenses, the Trades and Labor Council discovered that they were $80 to the bad! Tableau!

Contrast this with Comrade Hicker's expenses. He spoke to 1,500 workingmen in the largest hall in the city. His expenses from Seattle to Vancouver and return were $6.50, including hotel expenses.

Moral.—Stick to the straight path of truth and science; get Party speakers; read Party papers and rush the S. T. & L. A.

But then Debs is so nice because he skins us.

W. G.

Vancouver, B. C., Dec. 14.

LETTER-BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

(No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.)

E. G. C., ROGERVILLE, IA.—Your article on how to prevent war is not acceptable. BIBLE quotations, unsupported by cannon (or its equivalent), never yet routed an enemy.

I. R., BRIDGEPORT, CT.—The DAILY PEOPLE is to be published in the interest of the working class; consequently, it will be conducted upon class-conscious lines and means. It is for that reason to be conducted by the S. L. P., and not subject to the dictation of Republican or Democratic job-holders, or would-be job-holders, or otherwise hirelings of Capital—whether they call themselves "union officers" or what not.—No idolatry!

W. F. C. M., STONEHAM, MASS.—Comrade Albert Wernet, 1957 Curtis street, Denver, Colo., desires to know:

1. Your name;

2. Whether you had any particular person in mind while describing West Wind, and if so, who that interesting person is.

Kindly communicate with him. He seems to have his suspicions, thinking it fits somebody he knows.

G. J. H., TAUNTON, MASS.—1. The DAILY PEOPLE is to be a daily newspaper, supplying current news, domestic and foreign, and editorial comments upon all occurrences worth being commented upon. Both news and editorials will, however, be up to the Socialist standard. Instead of, as some papers getting up their news, reports and editorials for the benefit of the Republican party, and others for the benefit of the Democratic party—all in the interest of the labor-tyrannising capitalist class—the DAILY PEOPLE will be conducted in the interest of the Working Class, which is to say, of the S. L. P.

2. The duties of Section Organizers should be to keep themselves informed on all that appertains to the Labor Movement; keep the Section informed and aid its efforts in distributing Socialist literature; and keep both their respective State Committees and the National Executive Committee posted on the experience made, the progress recorded or difficulties encountered. The rest of an Organizer's duties must be left to his own genius.

B. D. D., ROANOKE, VA.—Shall place your article on file with the many such others that the "broad" brigade rejected and were sent here. Eventually they, together with those that THE PEOPLE did publish when the issue was not yet a dead one as at present, may be interesting reading in an hour of leisure. The cracks you give the crooks whom the Party threw out are too good to throw the article away after them.

A. W., DENVER, COLO.—You might communicate upon that subject with and make suggestions to the manager of the Labor News Co., Julian Pierce, 147 E. 23d st., this city.

N. E., CHICAGO, ILL.—He is a case in point. The Party has regularly been taken in by trade unionist Socialists of his stamp. Such Socialists, God save the mark, being essentially windjammers, who had to be held down, instead of promoting Socialist thought in their unions, or rendering Socialism at least sympathetic, confirmed the notion that Socialists are moon-calves, visionary, imaginative, and UNPRACTICAL, especially subjects—using a common expression—to be played for suckers. The days of his likes are gone forever.

T. T. Y., WASHINGTON, D. C.—Had the New York Court decided that the "Volkszeitung's" tax-payers' brigade was entitled to the Party's name and emblem, the Party's name would have polled in this city from 1,000 to 1,500 votes; not one more. But in that case the Party would have had its own ticket out. It got the signatures and was ready for any emergency. It is possible that in that case the Party's vote might have fallen 1,000 votes below what it was; it was over 14,000 and in that case it would have been over 13,000. This loss would have been due to the confusion in some minds. In such a large constituency as this all voters can not be quickly reached. The gentlemen of the "Volkszeitung" knew this; and that's why they did not try to set up their ticket anyhow; they preferred to hide behind a dodge.

J. H. S., SAN DIEGO, CAL.—Shall send you sample copies of "El Socialista" published in Madrid, Spain, "El Porvenir Social" published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and the "Vanguardia" published in Buenos Aires, Argentina. They are Socialist papers in Spanish.

M. K. A., CHICAGO, ILL.—The case of scabbing upon Alliance men here in New York, upon orders of the present President of the International Typographical Union, was fully set forth in a document issued by the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A. in '97 and was published at the time in these columns.

E. O. C., DENVER, COLO.—We don't know a single thing done by T. I. Kidd, of the A. F. of L., to recommend him to the workingmen, unless his conduct (exposed in these columns with facts taken from his own paper) at the time of the strike in Oshkosh, Wis., when he patted on the back a capitalist who had caused strikers to be actually clubbed to death, be a recommendation.

A. F., PITTSBURG, KANS.—The official election returns are not yet in from all the States where the Party had a ticket this year. That's the cause of the delay in announcing this year's strength of the Party. The list always came out late.

P. T. A., WORCESTER, MASS.—It is not Bryan but McKinley who was called the "Syndicated Candidate." Of course, the title fits Bryan just as well; only, as it happens, it was not given to him.

O. R., NEW HAVEN, CT.—While your indignation can be appreciated, had you not better take the advice given in last week's issue by Comrade Martin of Grand Junction, Colo.? "Victors can afford to be magnanimous." That, of course, does not imply a recommendation to be flabby. If a dog barks at a distance, it is let bark; only when it gets too viciously near, it is given a kick. Apply that policy to your local Kangs. At present they do nowhere merit the recognition of either "refutation" or "exposure."

F. T. B., ZANESVILLE, O.—If what you mean to ask is, whether the Party officers would not lead an easier life if they were untrue to the Party's work? The answer would certainly have to be, "Yes." It is so much easier, you know, to pocket your salary, let trouble slide, and then add swindle upon swindle by pretending you are doing the right thing. And yet it is doubtful whether, in the end, the volume of "trouble" that such officers have to undergo is not infinitely greater than the "trouble" that faithful officers must go through, to say nothing of the mortification that is bound to follow upon breaches of trust. If you could get a photograph of the Party's officers and of the gentlemen whom the Party recently threw into the ditch for neglect of duty, you could learn a vast lesson. The former have happy looks; the latter look as if they had been caught stealing sheep, and otherwise look "weary."

A. K., ROCKVILLE, CT.—You misjudge the nature of that communication from Chas. Schultze, of Springfield, Mass. It was not intended as a correspondence, to be published among the letters in the correspondence column; it was barely four lines in length, it only contained a question, evidently intended to call forth an answer, and, as far as the letter could be understood, it was directed, not against the Editor of THE PEOPLE, but against Comrade Ruther.

Can't accept your theory that "all communications in favor or against THE PEOPLE should by all means be published in the Party organ." That would simply make the Party organ a dumping ground for freaks and worse than freaks of the Schultze stamp. The Party long ago got beyond the erroneous view that its organ is there for any such purpose.

Would caution you against how you use the word "Comrade." Schultze is none. Besides being essentially a treason-quarrelsome fellow, who of old gave aid and comfort to the Ruskin "Labor" when it was reprinting "Coming Nation" articles against political action, he is now out of the Party, being a looney Kangaroo, upholding all the "Volkszeitung" iniquities.

C. W. M., NEW YORK.—The DAILY PEOPLE will be a "union office," up to the handle, from garret to cockloft;—genuine union; no capitalist union; you bet!

H. A. S., UNION, N. J.—Have received no report of the Summit silk weavers' strike.

O. S., COLUMBUS, O.—The S. T. & L. A. has a Cigarmakers' Union, and a label therefor. Communicate with Eckstein, whose adv. you will find in THE PEOPLE.

C. L. J., NELSON, B. C.—It is a wrong done to a workingman to induce him to join a class-unconscious, i. e., "pure and simple," union. He can only get buried there. His dues and his efforts are absorbed for purposes injurious to the working class. If he is inside, it may be a question whether to pull out or stay in. But being outside it is senseless to go in. The "pure and simple" organization is so constructed that it is bound to develop the labor fakir officer (see Tobin), and these turn the concern into a complete appendage to the capitalist class.

Toronto, Canada.

(Continued from Page 1.)

8. That the union label be on all city printing.

9. Municipal self-government and the abolition of the system of money deposits and property qualifications for candidates for parliamentary and municipal legislatures.

10. Abolition of the ward system and the adoption of the system of proportional representation.

11. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all money laws and measures of importance, according to the initiative and referendum principle.

* * *

ALDERMANIC TICKET.

Ward No. 1—Chas. C. Woodley.
" 2—Wm. Thompson.
" 3—Herbert S. James.
" 4—Thos. Roberts.
" 5—Daniel T. Hedley.

* * *

Meetings of the Socialist Labor Party are held Thursdays at 8 p.m., Sundays at 3 p.m., at 183 Queen street East.

OFF WITH DERELICTS!

First Shot Fired into the "Volkszeitung", More to Follow.

[Below is the application of Section New York, to the Attorney-General to annul the existence of the Volkszeitung corporation. The only other document of general interest to the membership of the Party, and forming part of the papers in the case, is the Affidavit and Certificate as to Subscription and Payment of Stock; it also is printed below.

When nearly six months ago, the "Volkszeitung" Corporation concocted a plan to capture the Party, the act was certainly dastardly; more dastardly still was the calumnious course it pursued immediately upon the failing of its plan; yet more dastardly was its election policy against the Party; and it has since been reaching still deeper depths of dastardliness, in flagrant violation of its charter and constitutional duties. The thing has become a dangerous derelict that must be sunk;—and sunk it will be. If this shot does not fetch it, there are others in store that will.

DOCUMENT —
IN THE MATTER)
of)
The Application of Eber Forbes,)
Treasurer of Section New)
York of the Socialist Labor)
Party to the Attorney-General)
of the State of New York, to)
ask leave of a competent)
Court having jurisdiction)
thereof to bring an action)
against the Socialist Co-)
operative Publishing Associa-)
tion to procure a judgment)
vacating its charter and an-)
nulling the existence of said)
Corporation.)

To Honorable John C. Davis,
Attorney-General of the State of New York.

The petition of Eber Forbes respectfully shows:

1. That he is the Treasurer of Section New York of the Socialist Labor Party.

2. That Section New York is an unincorporated association, consisting of more than seven members. That it has no president, and petitioner makes this application on behalf of Section New York by direction of its General Committee.

3. That said Association was formed under and pursuant to the customs and usages of the Socialist Labor Party, and continued as an unincorporated association under and pursuant to said customs and usages, and also in pursuance of the written Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, adopted at its National Convention in the year 1896, a copy of which Constitution is hereto annexed and made part of this petition.

4. That in the year 1878, as deponent is informed and believes, Section New York, together with Section Brooklyn of the Socialist Labor Party, jointly, under the title of "The New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association," owned a newspaper and plant known as the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," and in the year 1897 said two Sections aforesaid consolidated under the name of Section New York.

5. That Section Brooklyn, ever since its formation and before consolidation with Section New York, was an unincorporated association of more than seven members, formed under and pursuant to the customs and usages of the Socialist Labor Party, and continued up to said consolidation as an unincorporated association, under and pursuant to said customs and usages and also in pursuance of the written Constitution of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, adopted at its National Convention in the year 1896.

6. That on or about the 23d day of August, in the year 1879, as petitioner is informed and believes, said Sections New York and Brooklyn, which owned the aforesaid newspaper, plant and good-will jointly, under the name of the aforesaid New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, desiring to carry on said business as a co-operative corporation, under and pursuant to Chapter 971 of the Laws of 1867 and Chapter 85 of the Laws of 1878, caused a Committee of its members to be appointed to formulate plans for the carrying out of said purpose, and directed said Committee to form a Corporation for said purpose, accordingly.

7. That in pursuance of said desire, certain members, constituting a Committee of said Section New York and said Section Brooklyn, jointly composing The New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, did, on or about the 23d day of August, in the year 1879, form a corporation under and pursuant to and in accordance with the provisions of Chapter 971 of the Laws of 1867, and Chapter 85 of the Laws of 1878, a copy of the Certificate of which is hereto annexed and made part of this petition.

8. That on or about said date, said Sections New York and Brooklyn, jointly, forming the New Yorker Volkszeitungs Publishing Association, as petitioner is informed and believes, transferred all its right, title and interest in and to the newspaper and plant owned by it at that time, in consideration of 2,000 shares of stock of said corporation, to the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, and ever since then, said Sections New York and Brooklyn, jointly, forming the New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, have been the owners of said 2,000 shares of stock which were the whole capital stock of said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, and that Section New York is the sole owner of all the property rights which both Sections jointly possessed as the New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association at the time of their consolidation.

9. That in addition to said plant and good will of said newspaper which the aforesaid Sections New York and Brooklyn, jointly, as the New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, as petitioner is informed and believes, transferred to the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, it also paid in the sum of $1,000.00 in cash, in order that the said corporation should comply with the Statute in such case made and provided.

10. That annexed hereto is a copy of the affidavit certifying to the payment of $1,000.00 pursuant to the Statute in such case made and provided, which is on file in the Clerk's office of the County of New York, which petitioner makes part of this petition.

11. That as soon as the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association entered upon the conduct of its business for which it was incorporated, it had a Board of Directors, consisting of seven members, a President and Treasurer, who were also ex-oficio members of said Board of Directors, and that they and their successors issued bonds or script to various individuals, a copy of which is hereto annexed and made part of this petition.

12. That for many years last past, the Board of Directors and officers of the aforesaid corporation have offended against all of the provisions of the Act under which it was created and acts applicable thereto, in that they permitted said bondholders to manage and conduct the affairs of said corporation.

13. That they have not permitted and do not permit the stockholders thereof to manage the affairs of said corporation in electing its officers and performing such duties as stockholders have a right to perform.

14. That the affairs of said corporation were and are carried on by bondholders who claim to be members and who do not carry on the business of publishing and printing newspapers on the co-operative plan as designed and contemplated by Chapter 971 of the Laws of 1867 and Chapter 85 of the Laws of 1878, under which it was incorporated, but carried on the business of publishing and printing newspapers not by uniting the labor, capital and patronage of those who conduct said Association at the present time and claim to be members thereof, but by conducting a general business for their benefit and advantage, by borrowing money, employing outside labor, employing outside capital and obtaining outside patronage, and who in divers ways and means usurped all the functions of the original organizers and diverted the affairs and business of the corporation from the co-operative plan of uniting the labor, capital and patronage of the members thereof, to a general business for the mutual benefit and welfare of its bondholders and creditors, who assume to be the lawful members of said Association, contrary to the Charter, Articles of Association, Constitution and By-Laws thereof, and in violation of Chapter 971 of the Laws of 1867 and acts amendatory thereof.

15. That in violation of Section 7 of Chapter 971 of the Laws of 1867, the men who are now managing the affairs of said corporation, claiming to be members thereof, have accumulated debts far in excess of one-half in amount of the capital stock, which is $10,000, said debts now due and owing by the said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association being about $22,000, as petitioner is informed and verily believes.

16. That by reason of said fact, Section New York, which is the owner of said capital stock of said Association may be claimed to be liable for all the debts of the said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, pursuant to Section 8 of Chapter 971 of the Laws of 1867.

17. That the reason why Section New York has not sooner instituted these proceeding to obtain a dissolution of said corporation and to protect its interest are as follows:

First.—That Section New York, being a sub-division of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States, and desiring to have a medium through which the principles and policies of said Party could be promulgated, was compelled to use the newspapers published by said Association as its organs.

Second.—That said bondholders had, prior to December, 1898, conducted their publications as organs of the Socialist Labor Party and in substantial compliance with the Preamble of the Constitution of the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association. That said Preamble reads as follows:

"PREAMBLE.

"Under the firm name 'Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association' an Association has been formed in the City of New York, in pursuance of the Charter issued, which has for its object, through the publication of newspapers, periodicals, etc., to further the spreading of the ideas of Socialism in accordance with the declaration of principles and the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party and to strive for the emancipation of Labor from exploitation by Capital. For this purpose, the Association will conduct the affairs of the 'New Yorker Volkszeitung' and other publications owned by it, guided by the following By-Laws."

18. That on or about the 14th day of December, 1898, said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association began publishing in its papers matters diametrically opposed to the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, which said corporation was formed to have newspapers advocate and that the papers so published by the said corporation ceased to be the official organs of the Socialist Labor Party and have in every manner contravened the tactics and policies of the Socialist Labor Party in violation of the Declaration in the said Preamble of the Constitution. That the said corporation, in its newspapers so published by it, advised all voters at the last election to abstain from voting for the regular candidates of the Socialist Labor Party.

19. That ever since said corporation has violated its Constitution in failing to co-operate with the Socialist Labor Party and acted contrary to the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, it has lost the support of the members and voters of the Socialist Labor Party, causing its publications to lose a large number of subscribers, and has contracted additional debts and obligations in order to make up the deficit arising from the loss of its subscribers to its newspapers. That pursuant to its quarterly reports, it had a deficit of $422.63 for the quarter ending December 31, 1898, and for the quarter ending the first day of April, 1899, its report shows a deficit of $2,154.62, and its quarterly report ending for the quarter ending July 1, 1899, a deficit of $2,501.59, and its quarterly report for the quarter ending September 30, 1899, shows a deficit of $2,140.71.

That according to its quarterly report for the quarter ending December 31, 1898, it derived through its daily, Sunday and weekly circulation an average of $939.77 per week.

That its quarterly report for the quarter ending April 1, 1899, shows that it has received for the total circulation of the "Volkszeitung" editions but the sum of $902.44 per week.

That its quarterly report for the quarter ending July 1, 1899, shows that it only received for its total circulation of the daily, Sunday and weekly "Volkszeitung" the average sum of $892.96 per week, and according to its report ending September 30th, 1899, it has received for its total circulation the average of only $859.96 per week.

That the quarterly report from July 2d to September 30, 1899, shows that said corporation lost the sum of $1,134.12 in publishing another paper, other than the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," which paper was entitled "The People," and was published by the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association in opposition and contrary to the direction of the Socialist Labor Party and in violation of the tactics of the Socialist Labor Party.

20. That as petitioner is informed and verily believes, the assets of said corporation are not worth 60 per cent. of the liabilities, and that said corporation is insolvent, and has continued to be insolvent for the past year.

21. That ever since the organization of said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, the capital stock of said Association subscribed to and paid for at the inception and formation as aforesaid, by Section New York, has remained and is now the property of said Section New York.

22. That said Section New York is and always has been, since the aforesaid consolidation, the sole and only stockholder of said corporation.

23. That as petitioner is informed and believes, no meeting of said stockholders of said corporation has ever been held; that no election of officers of said Corporation by stockholders has ever been held; that no annual or other meeting of the stockholders of said Corporation has ever been held, and that no officers or managers of the business of said corporation have ever been appointed in any manner by vote or otherwise by Section New York, the sole owner of said stock of said corporation as aforesaid, but that certain persons who have advanced small sums to said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, and have received in exchange therefor the paper evidences of debts, called bonds, above alluded to, have assumed as such bondholders to manage the affairs of said corporation ever since its inception, and to elect the officers thereof.

24. Said Section New York has never heretofore asserted its rights as stockholder, but that by reason of the facts above set forth relating to the abandonment of the principles of the Socialist Labor Party by the newspapers published by said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, the said Section New York now insists that the said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association shall be dissolved.

Wherefore, petitioner prays that the Attorney-General of the State of New York ask leave of a competent Court having jurisdiction thereof, to bring an action against The Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association to procure a judgment vacating its charter and annuling the existence of said Corporation.

EBER FORBES.

Affidavit and Certificate as to Subscription for and Payment of Capital Stock.

STATE OF NEW YORK, : ss:
County of New York. :

Henry H. Muenker, of No. 215 Division avenue, Brooklyn, E. D., County of Kings, and State of New York; Ferdinand Filly, of 329 West 38th street, City of New York; and Berthold Kaufmann, of 341 West 36th street, in said city, each for himself deposeth and saith that he is one of the corporators who signed the within declaration and charter. That the subscribers to said declaration and charter are now members of a voluntary unincorporated association, established since February, 1878, and doing business in the City of New York, under the name New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association. That the business of the said Association is of the same nature as that mentioned in said declaration and charter, and that the corporation proposed to be formed is to continue the same business now carried on by said New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association. The business capital now actually employed in the transaction of the business of said Association amounts to over ten thousand dollars ($10,000), and all the subscribers to said declaration and charter have an interest therein as members thereof. The deponent Henry H. Muenker is the treasurer of said Association, and he, together with said other deponents, having been appointed by the subscribers of said declaration and charter to receive the subscriptions and payments towards the capital stock of said proposed corporation, did accordingly take and receive such subscriptions and payments as follows:

The said New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, at a regular meeting of its members convened for that purpose on the 20th day of August, 1879, by their unanimous vote and resolution to that effect, agreed to subscribe towards said capital stock the sum of $10,000, and authorizes the subscribers to said declaration and charter to carry such resolution into effect, and thereupon, in accordance with such resolution and authority, the signers of said declaration and charter under their hands severally subscribed said aggregate sum of Ten Thousand Dollars individually, and, as members of said Association, in its behalf collectively.

That of the said sum of Ten Thousand Dollars ($10,000) ten per cent, to wit: the aggregate sum of one thousand ($1,000) dollars has been actually paid in in cash by the said several subscribers, and which said sum is now in the hands of the deponent Henry H. Muenker, for the uses and purposes, and subject to the order of, said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, the corporation mentioned in the said declaration and charter.

HENRY H. MUENKER.

Sworn to before me this :
23rd day of August, 1879. :
SIMON SULTAN,
Notary Public,
(L. S.) N. Y. Co.
Filed 28th August, 1879.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 61 Beekman street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS (pro tem.)—Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—A. B. Barter, Secretary, 860 Richmond street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

A Call.

To the Sections of the Soc. Labor Party.

Comrades:

In accordance with Art. IV, Section 1, of the Party constitution, you are hereby called upon to make nominations for the place where the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party for 1900 is to be held. The nominations made must be reported to the undersigned on or before January 31, 1900, and will then be submitted to the referendum vote of the members.

Organizers of Sections will please see to it that this call is read at the next regular meeting of their respective Sections and that the nominations made are promptly reported at headquarters. The Section being the unit of organization, each Section can nominate but one city. There is no need of reporting the vote cast, the simple report that the Section places in nomination a certain city being sufficient.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.,
HENRY KUHN, Nat. Sec.

NEW YORK.

BROOKLYN READERS, ATTENTION!—Owing to the holidays, the Tenth Assembly District, Brooklyn, will give no lectures on Sunday, December 24th and 31st, at Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street, but will re-open its lectures on Sunday, January 7, 1900, with Julian Pierce, Subject: Capitalism vs. Socialism.

Calendar

Of Organizations Represented in Section New York, S. L. P.

General Committee meetings, 2d and 4th Saturday, 8 P. M., at Club Rooms, 528 East 11th street, Manhattan.

City Executive Committee meetings, 1st and 3rd Saturday, 8 P. M., at 23 Duane street, Manhattan.

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN.

Ass. Dist.
1st, 3d and 5th—2d and 4th Monday, 8 P. M., at 261 Hudson street.
4th—2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., Assembly Rooms, 177 East Broadway.
6th and 10th—Every Wednesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 528 East 11th street.
8th—Every Wednesday, 8 P. M., 26 Delancy st.
9th—1st and 3d Monday, 8 P. M., at 307 9th av.
12th—Every Friday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 184 Delancey street.
13th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., at 537 W. 41th street.
14th—Every Tuesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 528 East 11th street.
15th and 17th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., at 340 W. 53d street.
16th—Every Tuesday, 8 P. M. Club Rooms, 98 Avenue C.
18th—2d and 4th Thursday, 8 P. M., at 246 First avenue.
19th and 21st—1st and 3d Monday, 8 P. M., at 2310 Broadway.
20th—Every Thursday, 8 P.M., at 328 E. 28th st.
23d—2d and 4th Tuesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 312 W. 143d street.
26th—2d and 4th Thursday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms 414 E. 71st street.
28th—2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., at Club Rooms, 242 E. 86th street.
30th—2d and 4th Wednesday, 8 P. M., at Club Rooms, 1706 First avenue.
32d and 33d—Every Tuesday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 169 E. 109th street.
34th and 35th—Every Friday, 8 P. M., Club Rooms, 481 Willis avenue.
Branch 8 (Bohemian)—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., Club Room, 414 E. 71st street.
Italian Branch—Last Sunday in month, 3 P.M., at 228 E. 108th street.
Slavonian Branch—Every Sunday, 8 P. M., at 539 W. 59th street.
Finlanders' Branch—Every Sunday, 8 P. M., at 539 W. 59th street.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN.

Ass. Dist.
2d—Every Thursday, 8 P. M., at Hall, Prospect and Jay streets.
4th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., at 253 Greene avenue.
5th—2d and 4th Thursday, 8 P. M., at 83 Bartlett street.
6th—Every Monday, 8 P. M., at 43 Ellery st.
7th—1st and 3d Thursday, 8 P. M., at 1265 Third avenue.
10th—Every Sunday, 8 P. M., at Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street.
12th—1st and 3d Thursday, 8 P. M., at 427 12th street.
13th and 14th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., 119 Franklin street.
15th—1st and 3d Saturday, 8 P. M., cor. Manhattan avenue and Broadway.
16th and 18th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., at 1898 Fulton street.
17th—2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., at 414 Quincy street.
19th—Every Sunday, 10 A. M., at 192 Evergreen avenue.
20th—1st and 3d Wednesday, 8 P. M., at 112 Linden street.
21st District, Br. 1—2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., at Scheillein's Hall, cor. Vermont and Atlantic avenues.
21st District, Branch 2—Every Friday, at 8 P. M., at Washington Hall, 93 Thatford avenue.
7th District (Polish)—1st Wednesday in month, at Kowalski's Hall, 657½ Third avenue.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

Lecture, Entertainment & Ball
WILL BE GIVEN BY THE
7th Assembly District Branch
S. L. P., Brooklyn,
on Saturday Eve, February 17th, 1900,
—AT—
Parshall's Hall, 3d Ave & 53d Sts., South B'klyn.
Comrade DE LEON will speak.
—First Class Concert and Song— 445
TICKETS, incl. Hat-Check, 25 CENTS.

Billiard and Pool Tables
New and Second Hand. Liberal Cash Discount's.

PRICES LOW. BILLIARD SUPPLIES.
446
F. BRUNNER & SON, 171 First Ave., N.Y City.

FOURTH ANNUAL
Masquerade and Civic Ball
—OF THE—
Workingman's Publishing Ass'n,
(ARBEITER ZEITUNG PUB. ASS.)
Saturday Evening, December 30th, 1899.
AT GRAND CENTRAL PALACE,
43d, 44th Sts. and Lexington Ave.
TICKET, - ADMIT ONE, - 25 CENTS.
Music by Krink's Military Band, L. A. 1028. 441
$100. In valuable prizes will be distributed to the most original, comique and handsome masks. $100.
Prizes awarded by popular vote. Masks getting the highest votes receive prizes.

SOCIALIST BOOKS
FOR THE HOLIDAYS.

A Socialist should be an agitator three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. Christmas is the three hundred and fifty-ninth day of the year 1899. If you desire to hasten the realization of the Socialist Republic, forward the agitation by purchasing Socialist books for the holidays. Below we give a list of selected books on Socialism and Sociology. They are all attractively bound in cloth (except when otherwise stated) and will be sent prepaid by mail on receipt of price.

Capital.
By KARL MARX. Cloth, $1.75; paper, $1.20
No description of this book is required. It discovers the secret of capitalist production through surplus value. With this discovery Socialism became a science. And it is with the facts found in "Capital" that Socialism is hammering its way to the Socialist Republic.

The Student's Marx.
By EDWARD AVELING. Cloth, $1.
The author describes his book as follows: "The 'Student's Marx' is intended for those who have read, and for those who have not read, the English translation of 'Capital.' To both this volume may be of use as a brief analysis of the main facts and conclusions to be found in 'Capital.'"
CONTENTS.—Commodities and Money; The transformation of Money into Capital; The Production of Absolute Surplus Value; The Production of Relative Surplus Value; The Production of Absolute and Relative Surplus Value; Wages; The Accumulation of Capital; The So-called Primitive Accumulation.

The Economics of Socialism.
By H. M. HYNDMAN. Cloth, $1.20.
It is quite common to hear people say they cannot read understandingly Karl Marx's "Capital," and the wall that stops them is his analysis of value and surplus value. "Economics of Socialism" was written to popularize these two fundamental principles of Modern Socialism. It will serve as a good introduction to "Capital."
CONTENTS.—Methods of Production; Value; Circulation of Commodities; Industrial Crises; Rent, Interest and Profit; The Final Utility of Final Utility.

Commercial Crises of the Nineteenth Century.
By H. M. HYNDMAN. Cloth, $1.
There is no fact more patent than the fact that bourgeois political economists and middle class politicians have been unable to trace the causes of modern industrial panics. With the torch of Socialism, however, the task is an easy one. And in this volume Mr. Hyndman has examined all the principle crises of the present century and discovered that they have their roots in the chaos of capitalist production. It is about time for another panic to appear, and every Socialist should be familiar with "Commercial Crises"—it will help him to understand the panic.

Religion of Socialism.
By E. BELFORT BAX. Cloth, $1.
The "Religion of Socialism" is the first volume of a series of essays forming a critical exposition of Socialism, with its effects on the interpretation of history, on the popular views of marriage, religion, economics, law, justice, crime, commerce, and many other themes. In this volume Mr. Bax undertakes to answer practically every important objection that has ever been made to Socialism.
CONTENTS.—Universal History from a Socialist Standpoint; Socialism and Religion; Socialism and the Sunday Question; The Modern Revolution; Conscience and Commerce; Unscientific Socialism; The Criminal Court Judge; Some Bourgeois Idols; Imperialism vs. Socialism; The Capitalistic Hearth; Civil Law Under Socialism; Address to Trades Unions.

Ethics of Socialism.
By E. BELFORT BAX. Cloth, $1.
The "Ethics of Socialism" can be read independently, but it is the natural complement of the "Religion of Socialism." No better exposition can be found of the ethical nature of Socialism, or the revolution introduced by it into ordinary interpretations of right and wrong.

Outlooks from a New Standpoint.
By E. BELFORT BAX. Cloth, $1.
This volume should be read by every one who desires to be able to reply to the criticisms of Socialism that the charlatans of political economy are continually making.
CONTENTS.—Anarcharsis Clootz, the Orator of the Human Race; The Decay of Pagan Thought; Liberalism vs. Socialism; The Curse of Law; A Socialist's Notes on Practical Ethics; The Economic Basis of History; Individual Rights Under Socialism; Marriage.

Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome.
By WM. MORRIS and E. BELFORT BAX. Cloth, $1.
The historical development of Socialism and its outcome could have no abler exponents than the collaborators of this book. Its scope can best be seen by its contents.
CONTENTS.—Ancient Society; The First Historical or Ancient Society; The Transition from the Classical to the Medieval Period; Early Medieval Society; The Rough Side of the Middle Ages; The End of the Middle Ages; Modern Society; Preparations for Revolution in England; Preparations for Revolution in France; Constitutional Stage of the French Revolution; Proletarian Stage of the French Revolution; The Industrial Revolution in England; Political Movement in England; Reaction and Revolution on the Continent; The Paris Commune of 1871 and the Continental Movement Following it; The Utopists—Owen, Saint-Simon and Fournier; The Transition from the Utopists to Modern Socialism; Scientific Socialism—Karl Marx; Socialism Militant; Socialism Triumphant.

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DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE meets every second and fourth Sunday, at 3 P. M., at 98 Avenue C, New York.
E. SIFF, 62
362 Canal street, Financial Secretary.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY HEADQUARTERS of 34th and 35th A. D., 481 Willis Ave. Business meeting every Friday evening. Free reading room and Pool parlor open day and evening. Free lectures every Sunday evening. Subscriptions for this paper received. 440

SECTION AKRON, S. L. P., MEETS EVERY first and third Sunday, at 2 P. M. Kramer Hall, 167 S. Howard St. Organizer, M. Simon, 349 N. Arlington St.

THE N. J. STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P. meets first Sunday each month, 10 A. M., at headquarters, Essex Co. Socialist Club, 9 Springfield ave., Newark, N. J. Address communications to John Hossack, 105 Princeton ave., Jersey City, N. J., Sec'y. 440

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee representing the Sections meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 73 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J. 62

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P., Headquarters and Free Reading Room, 205½ South Main st. Public meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., at Foresters' Temple, 129½ West 1st st. cor. Spring. 440

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, headquarters of 32d and 33d A. D., 169 E. 109th st. Business meetings every Tuesday. Free reading room open from 7.30 p. m. to 10.30. Subscriptions for this paper received. 62

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 East 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, President; Aug. Lantz, Corr. Sec'y, 79 East 4th street. 62

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274, S. T. & L. A., meets every second and fourth Friday, at 8 p. m., at 528 E. 11th street. Secretary K. Wallberg. 62

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every 2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., at Carpenter Hall, 781 Chapel st.—Westville Branch meets every 3d Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall. Visitors are welcome. 62

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTERS AND TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A. Headquarters, 79 East 4th street. Regular meeting 1st and 3d Mondays, 8 p. m. 62

SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P., Branch 1. Meets second and fourth Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at 140 East 81st street. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, Arbetaren. 62

SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB, S. L. P., 34th and 35th A. D.'s, Southeast cor. of 149th st. and 3d Ave. Meeting every Friday at 8 P. M. 62

WAITERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY," No. 1, S. T. & L. A. Office, 257 E. Houston street. Telephone Call: 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m. 62

WEST HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, Headquarters of the 23d A. D., 312 W. 125th st. Business meeting, 2d and 4th Tuesdays. Free reading room. Open 8 to 10 P. M. Subscriptions for this paper received. Visitors welcome. 62

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